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A NOTE ON THE SOURCES OF MARIE DE FRANCE.

In the valuable study, *Die Quellen des Esope der Marie de France*, which Professor Karl Warnke published in the *Forschungen zur Romanischen Philologie, Festgabe für Hermann Suchier* (Halle, 1900, pp. 161-284), a serious omission consists in the failure to include in the material studied the fables entitled by Hervieux *Ex Romulo Nilantii Orta Fabulae Metrica*, and published by him in the second edition of his *Fabulistes latins* (Paris, 1894, vol. II, pp. 653-713). This collection of fables, known to the Romance Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University as the Romulus Metricus, is found in ms. Lat. B. N. 111 of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The codex, according to F. Madan's *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (vol. III, Oxford, 1895, p. 363, No. 14836), was written in England in the eleventh century; certain "notes and glosses" in Old English are found in it.

The importance of this collection for the study of Marie de France is due to the fact that it presents in a number of cases a form of the version of the Romulus Nilantii, from which a large portion of the fables of Marie are ultimately derived, intermediate between the Nilantine original and the modified type represented by Marie. The resemblance of the Romulus Metricus to Marie's *Esope* did not entirely escape the attention of Hervieux, who noted (*op. cit.*, vol. I, 1893, p. 804) that in the fable *De lupo regnante* (Marie, xxxvii, ed. Roquefort), the Romulus Metricus (Fable xxxiv) agrees with Marie and the closely related versions of the Romulus Treverensis (= LBG) and the Romulus Roberti, in making the wolf the king of the animals in place of the lion. He does not seem to have extended

his examination any further, however, and concludes that the collection is a derivative of the Romulus Nilantii, though perhaps only a mediate one. The following facts appear to indicate that his alternative conclusion is correct, and that both the Romulus Metricus and the Romulus Anglo-Latinus, the hypothetical lost ancestor of the Marie family, are derived from a modified version of the Romulus Nilantii.

A study of the fable of the "Nightingale and Hawk" (Romulus Nilantii, Bk. II, f. xi; Marie, LVII [ed. Roquefort]; Romulus Metricus XXVII), made in connection with the work of the Romance Seminary of this University, first led me to take this view. In this fable the Metricus differs from the Nilantinus only in inserting the incident of the nightingale's refusal to sing unless the hawk moves off, as his presence terrifies her so that she is unable to sing. The hawk complies, and the fable continues as usual in the Romulean tradition. This incident occurs in the Mediaeval versions accessible to me only in the Romulus Metricus and in the Marie family (including the Romulus Treverensis, and the Dutch versions of Gerhard von Minden [ed. Leitzmann, Halle, 1898, f. cxviii] and the Magdeburger Äsop [Pseudo-Gerhard von Minden, ed. W. Seelmann, Norden, 1878, f. xxxi]). In the latter, however, except in the late Magdeburger Äsop, the fable terminates abruptly with the nightingale's reply, and a very lame moral explains that many people cannot speak well when frightened or overawed. Here the version of Marie seems clearly to come from a form of the fable similar to that of the Romulus Metricus, with its conclusion lost or omitted.

The following examination of the first ten fables in Marie's collection furnishes evidence to confirm this view. The traits peculiar to Marie have been summarized and numbered by Professor Warnke in the article cited; certain of these traits, referred to by his numbers, are

here paralleled by similar points in the Romulus Metricus. References to other collections are derived from Warnke. Where no comparisons are made except with the Romulus Metricus, it is to be understood that he quotes no parallels from literature antecedent or closely subsequent to Marie.

Fable i. 1. M (= Marie): *gemme*; RN (= Romulus Nilantii): *margarita*; RR (= Romulus Rhythmicus, Hervieux, 2d. edit., vol. II, pp. 714-757): *lapis preciosus*; Berechiah: *iaspis*, *lapis pretiosus*; RM (= Romulus Metricus) *gemma*.

3. Moral. Cf. M: *le mielz despisent*, and RM: *contempnunt optima queque*.

Fable ii, 1.

M: *Ireemnt parla li lous,*
Ki mult esteit contrarious,
par maltalent parla a lui

RR: *Tunc lupus ore minax fera verba tonabat.*

RM: *Improbis lupus . . . ferox . . . trux . . . dixit.*

Fable iv, 1. M, Rt, and RR have two witnesses, correcting RN, which speaks of three but mentions only two. RM makes the same correction.

Fable vii, 2.

M: *Mei, ki sui lous, tieng jeo pur fol,*
qu'od mes denz ne trenchai tun col.

RM: *. . . non gaudes, rustice latro,*
Quod collum sorpsi non dentibus asperis.

Fable viii, 1. The error in RN, which speaks of the second warning as the third, is also found in RR; M corrects by referring to the second warning as the second; Rt corrects by introducing a third warning; RM = Rt.

Fable ix, 1. M has a mouse traveling from city to city and overtaken by night; cf. RM:

. . . muri urbano linquenti menia castris
Serca campestris tribuit mus hospita noctis.

2. M *suriz de bois*; cf. RM: *glandesque nuces munera silue*. Odo calls the mouse *campestris* and *silvestris*.

4. RN: *cellarium omnibus bonis refertum*; M speaks of *plenté de farine e de miel*; RM:

centenouque domum pastu potuque refertum,
and, *infra, mellifluis cenis.*

Fable x, 2. RN: nest in *arbor*; M: *chesne*; RM: *robur*.

3. RN: *Cumque fumus et flamma . . . ad summitatem arboris pene pertingerent, aquila, . . . pullorum cura, ne perirent, vulpinos catulos incolumes matri reddidit, obsecrans ut adductum restringeret incendium.*

M: *Li aigles vit le feu espris;*
Al gupil prie e dit: 'Amis,
Estein le feu! Pren tun chael!
Ja serunt ars tuit mi oisel.'

Cf. RM: *Cum . . . aquila ardentem pertingere nidum*
Conspiceret flammam, clamans tunc voce precatur
Ut vulpis fetus proprios jam sprete teneret
Lenius atque ardor pullis extinctus adesset . . .

As soon as possible I expect to publish a study of the forty-three fables contained in the Romulus Metricus compared with the same fables as found in collections belonging to the Marie group and in other Mediæval fabularies, including the Romulus Nilantii, the Romulus Rhythmicus, Berechiah, and the Odo group, in order to treat more thoroughly of the relations indicated in the present article. This study will also include a detailed discussion of the relations of the Romulus Treverensis and Berechiah to Marie.

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THE SOURCE OF THE STORY SAPI-
ENTES IN THE SEVEN SAGES
OF ROME.

In my edition of *The Seven Sages of Rome*, recently published in the Albion Series of Anglo-Saxon and Middle English Poetry, I assert (p. c) that *Sapientes*, the eleventh story in the Middle English versions, was probably an invention of the redactor of the Western parent version of *The Seven Sages*. I am now

satisfied that *Sapientes* is only another form of a well-known episode in the life of Merlin, the story of *Vortigern's Tower*.¹

The story of *Vortigern's Tower* first assumed literary form, so far as is now known, in the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius,² and was subsequently retold by Geoffrey of Monmouth,³ Wace,⁴ Layamon,⁵ Robert de Boron,⁶ and a score of others, reappearing in but slightly modified form in most of the romances of the Merlin cycle.⁷

Sapientes has the same central motive as *Vortigern's Tower*: the rescue of a king from distress through the agency of a miraculously gifted child born without a father; and it agrees with it in sundry other important respects.

¹I first observed the similarity between the two stories in the autumn of 1907. Subsequently I found in Professor Schofield's *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (Boston, 1906, p. 252) mention of a "Middle English romance of *Herod and Merlin* . . . a variant of the story of *Vortigern's Tower*." This started me on a hunt for the poem of *Herod and Merlin*, which I felt must furnish an interesting analogue to *Sapientes* and perhaps throw some light on its history. But an industrious sifting of the reference works on Middle English failed to reveal any further mention of such a poem; so that I have been driven to the conclusion that Professor Schofield meant by the "Middle English romance of *Herod and Merlin*" merely the Middle English version of *Sapientes*, to which Weber in his edition of the Auchinleck MS. of *The Seven Sages* (*Metrical Romances*, Edinburgh, 1810, pp. 91 ff.) gives the name "*Herowdes and Merlin*." To Professor Schofield, then, must be given the credit of having first recorded the connection between *Sapientes* and *Vortigern's Tower*. The purpose of the present note is to clarify his statement and to show somewhat in detail the nature of the relationship between the two stories.

²Sections 40-42.

³*Historia Regum Britanniae*, Bk. vi, 17-Bk. vii, 3.

⁴*Brut*, ll. 7491-7776.

⁵*Brut*, ll. 15419-16112.

⁶See the prose *Merlin* (based on Robert de Boron's poem), ed. Gaston Paris, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1886, I, pp. 38-60.

⁷See for the best account of these various versions, R. H. Fletcher, "The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles," [*Harvard*] *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, 1906, x, pp. 12 f., 20, 47, 61 f., 92, 118, 120, 131, 152 f., 162, and *passim*. See also W. E. Mead, "Outlines of the History of the Legend of Merlin," E. E. T. S., 1899, 112, *passim*; and H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, London, 1883, I, pp. 203-344.

The supernaturally gifted child, for instance, in both stories is Merlin; in both the king has as counsellors seven wise men, who are false to him, and who are unfriendly to Merlin; in both Merlin is betrayed to the king's emissaries by one of his companions with whom he is playing ball;⁸ and in both the king's distress is occasioned by the presence beneath his castle of a pond (or, as in *Sapientes*, a caldron) of water.

The chief respects in which *Sapientes* differs from *Vortigern's Tower* are: (1) in that the scene of the story is Rome, rather than some place in Wales (as in *Vortigern's Tower*); (2) the king is Herod, rather than Vortigern; (3) the king becomes blind whenever he attempts to leave his capital city,—this in consequence of the misdoings of the seven wise men, who have become richer and more powerful than the king (to which the repeated sinking of the foundations of the royal castle is the counterpart in *Vortigern's Tower*); (4) the search for Merlin is suggested, not by the sages, but by an old man; (5) Merlin is sent for that he may account for the king's malady (not, as in *Vortigern's Tower*, that he may be slain and his blood sprinkled upon the foundations

⁸This resemblance was long ago pointed out by Weber (*Metrical Romances*, III, pp. 369-370), who, finding a close agreement between a part of *Sapientes* as it appears in the Auchinleck MS. (ll. 2389 ff. in Weber's edition) and a passage in the Middle English *Arthour and Merlin* (ll. 1185 ff.) asserted that the author of *The Seven Sages* had borrowed from the *Arthour and Merlin*. Later, Kölbing (*Arthour and Merlin*, "Altenglische Bibliothek," Leipzig, 1890, IV, p. civ), on the basis of the same passages, suggested that the Middle English versions of *Arthour and Merlin* and *The Seven Sages of Rome* were the work of the same hand. Apparently neither Weber nor Kölbing observed the connection between *Sapientes* as a whole and the complete episode of *Vortigern's Tower*.

Additional note. At the suggestion of Dr. Campbell, the following excerpt is inserted from E. Brugge's "Studien zur Merlinsage," *Zs. f. franz. Sprache und Litteratur*, XXX, 205: "In einer französischen und einer englischen Version des *Roman des sept sages* tritt Merlin sogar an Stelle Virgils in Verbindung mit dem Kaiser von Rom auf; die Erzählung *Herodes und Merlin* (No. 7 des Romans) lehnt sich übrigens ganz an Galfrids Erzählung von Vortigern und Merlin an. Merlin konnte also offenbar die alten Philosophen auch in ihren Fäbiliaux vertreten."—J. W. B.

of the castle in order to fortify the walls of the building); and (6) the caldron (beneath the king's bed-room) which is the occasion of the king's blindness, contains seven boiling bubbles (M. E. *walmes*), which correspond to the seven wise men and which cease to boil when the wise men are put to death (this, over against the tent and the two dragons which are found in the rock beneath the pond in *Vortigern's Tower*).

To account for most of the differences between *Sapientes* and its source is obviously not very difficult. The change in the scene of the story was made, I imagine, in order to give more of local interest and of reality to the story. This change, in turn, necessitated the substitution of some other name for that of *Vortigern*. The third change was made in order to emphasize the falseness of the seven wise men, and the better to serve the purpose of the wicked queen, into whose mouth the story is put. The introduction of the old man furnishes a simple and natural enough addition. And the last two changes may be traced to the changes made in the first half of the story.

It is all but idle, I believe, to try to determine precisely what version of *Vortigern's Tower* served as the immediate source of *Sapientes*,—this, first of all, for the reason that much of the matter of the early chroniclers and romancers was probably current tradition before it was given permanent literary form; and, in the second place, because the redactor of the *Seven Sages* almost surely wrote from oral accounts. Incidentally it may be remarked that there is no motive common to *Sapientes* and *Vortigern's Tower* that does not appear in practically all of the versions, early and late, of *Vortigern's Tower*.⁹

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⁹ Negatively, it can be said that the version of Nennius cannot have been the immediate source, since the name *Merlin* does not appear in his account, the name *Ambrosius* being used instead. The versions of Robert de Boron and Layamon were composed too late to be seriously taken into account here, and the same may perhaps be said of the version of Wace (usually dated about 1155), since the

CLAM, STOCKFISCH AND PICKELHÄRING.

In his introduction to *Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten* (D.N.L. 23, xciii ff.), Creizenach devotes considerable space to a consideration of the clown who appears under the names of *Hans von Stockfisch*, *John Bouset* (i. e., *Posset*), *Pickelhäring*, etc. The results of his investigations may be summarized as follows: Sackville created for himself the name and rôle of *John Bouset* or *Posset* (prior to 1593); Spencer that of *Hans Stockfisch* (1618); and Robert Reynolds that of *Pickelhäring* (the name appears for the first time in the collection of 1620).

In concluding his argument for the German origin of *Pickelhäring*, Creizenach says: "Reynolds schuf sich für seinen Gebrauch eine Abart des komischen Typus und legte sich den burlesquen Beinamen *Pickelhäring* zu, einem Gebrauche folgend, an den man durch Sackville = Bouset und Spencer = Stockfisch in Deutschland schon gewöhnt war. . . . Wenn Reynolds sich als clown einen Fischnamen beilegte, so tat er dies wohl in Hinblick auf den Stockfisch Spencer." Very good, but why did Spencer choose a fish name? Can't we get down at least to the turtle?

I wish now to offer a suggestion as to the turtle; what supported him I am not at present prepared to say.

Immediately after the passage quoted above, Creizenach continues: 'Other names for the clown have been preserved. Heinrich Julius

parent Western redaction of *The Seven Sages* was probably made by 1150 (Gaston Paris dates the old French metrical version *K* about 1155, and *K* was surely not the parent version). Hence, of the extant versions of *Vortigern's Tower*, that of Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *Historia*, written about 1136 and soon widely popular (see Fletcher, p. 116), would present the strongest claim as source, if it could be shown that the redactor of *The Seven Sages* drew upon written sources. But there is abundant evidence in *The Seven Sages* to support the theory of a basis in oral accounts; and there is certainly nothing in the transforming of *Vortigern's Tower* into *Sapientes* to discredit this theory.

calls the comical servant in the first version of his *Susanna* (1593) *Johan Clant*. We meet a similar name, *John Clam*, four times in Ayres's dramas, in the last of which he is expressly referred to as *der engellendisch Narr*. *Clam* or *clant* is doubtless a corruption of *clown*.¹ Concerning the phonetics of this explanation I have no doubt, but why seek such an explanation when a more natural one lies close at hand?

We know that from 1593 on English comedians were in Nürnberg¹ where they were seen by both Heinrich Julius and Ayres, whose works they profoundly influenced. We know the names of some of these comedians but not all. Why not assume that one of them, who played the rôle of clown, called himself, for some unknown reason, *John Clam*, after the familiar shellfish? This "engellendisch Narr" was used by Ayres in his plays and his name was either purposely changed to *clant* by Heinrich Julius, or else he made use of a corrupted form of the name. The change from *clam* to *clant* seems just as easy as that of *clown* to *clam*.

Now, if Reynolds called himself *Pickelhäring* because Spencer called himself *Stockfisch*, by Creizenach's own logic Spencer called himself *Stockfisch* because somebody *x* had assumed a fish name for his clown rôle. For the sake of argument I suggest that *x* = *John Clam*, a clown in one of the companies that performed in Nürnberg in the last part of the sixteenth century.

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THOMAS AND MARIE IN THEIR RELATION TO THE CONTEURS.

In a well known passage of his *Tristan*, Thomas, referring to those who "solent cunter e del cunte Tristan parler," says that "il en cuntent diversement" and adds

¹ Cf. Cohn, *Jahrb. d. dt. Shakespeare-Gesellsch.*, XXI, 247.

oï en ai de plusur gent,
assez sai que chescun en dit,
e ço qu'il unt mis en escrit.¹

The meaning of these lines is sufficiently obvious and Thomas, it would seem, clearly wants us to understand that he is acquainted both with what the 'conteurs' tell and what the poets have written about Tristan. Yet for a long time there was a little difficulty in interpreting the passage in this way. While 'conteurs' were thought to have been innumerable in France and in England before and about 1170, it was not known that there had ever existed, at that early date, a French poem on Tristan antedating that of Thomas. Indeed all evidence, it was supposed, pointed in the opposite direction. Industrious jongleurs busily engaged in telling the tales of Britain we met at every cross-roads throughout the first half of the XIIth century; but look wherever we would, we could not discover a poet at work on the Tristan legend until we reached the time of Béroul, Thomas, Chrétien, whose poems, it was added, were independent of each other. No wonder if between the two statements made by Thomas in the last two lines quoted above one felt inclined to accept fully only that which seemed in accordance with facts as we knew them? And until the last years most scholars would have been ready to sum up the matter in these words of Gaston Paris: "Il est clair que Thomas composait son poème pour un public qui connaissait déjà sous des formes variées les aventures de Tristan: il polémise ici² et ailleurs contre les versions courantes, et il essaie de donner au milieu de variantes contradictoires un récit logique et cohérent . . . Ces variantes étaient pour la plupart des narrations purement orales; Thomas signale ceux 'qui solent cunter e del cunte Tristan parler'; ils en content diversement, il l'a entendu de plusieurs gens, il sait ce que chacun en dit, et il n'ajoute qu'accessoirement et ce qu'on en a écrit."³ Yet no

¹ Ed. Bédier, I, ll. 2116-18.

² G. Paris is discussing ll. 2107-2123 of Thomas' *Tristan*.

³ *Romania*, VIII [1879], pp. 426-27.

scholar would write this now and G. Paris himself, before his death, had changed his opinion. M. Bédier has proved beyond a doubt that Thomas followed, at times pretty closely, an old poem on Tristan, the work of some unknown genius who composed it about 1120. Thomas, then, did know "go qu'il unt mis en escrit." But he also, we remember, claimed acquaintance with "go que chescun en dit." Did he mean there what he said? We might then assume that he owed to the 'conteurs' the numerous additions that he made to his original and that they suggested him his changes and corrections. But this is clearly out of the question. In practically every case M. Bédier makes us feel that Thomas himself is responsible for the new setting and the new direction given to the legend. The old trouvère is by no means a man who borrows from every quarter and has to work hard to reconcile contradictory statements; his aim is to adapt a somewhat archaic poem to a new and clearly defined literary ideal, and that is what he very consistently does from one end to the other. M. Bédier, I think, would subscribe to these words of Golther: "Es is nicht glaublich und wird jedenfalls durch den Inhalt nirgends bestätigt, dasz Thomas selbst von den conteurs andere Überlieferung hörte als von seiner schriftlichen Vorlage, dasz er wirklich, wie er seine Leser allerdings glauben lässt, mit Hilfe der conteurs seine Vorlage ergänzte."⁴ But why did Thomas in lines 2113-16 choose to refer his readers to oral tales that he possibly never heard and certainly never turned to account? According to Golther, the line in question comes straight from the old poem and was borrowed by Thomas for the express purpose of throwing a little dust in our eyes. "Somit ist anzunehmen, dasz er [Thomas] die Berufung auf die conteurs dem alten Tristangedicht entlehnte. Dadurch gab er sich das Ansehen, mündliche und schriftliche Quellen gekannt und benutzt und schliesslich zugunsten einer ganz neuen, bisher unbekannten Darstellung

verworfen zu haben."⁵ If we remember the peculiar customs of medieval translators or adaptators,⁶ there is certainly warrant for such an assumption. Yet in the present case it is doubtful whether this explanation is the right one. That Thomas may have wished to emphasize the difficulties of his task and make us think more highly of his skill, is not impossible. But before admitting that he had to borrow from his original the hint for his claim, I would suggest another explanation as possible.

There is in Marie's *Chèvrefeuille*, as Golther himself points out, a passage curiously similar to the lines of Thomas which we have just discussed:

Plusur le m'unt cunté e dit
e jeo l'ai trové en escrit
de Tristram e de la reine . . . ll. 5-7.⁷

How are we to understand this? Did Marie, to write her short 'lai,' make use of both oral tales and written sources? Or are we, as in the case of Thomas, to discount one of the two statements, and if so, which of the two? Golther offers no suggestion here. But more than one scholar, it is safe to say, would probably draw here a sharp distinction between Thomas and Marie and would decline to get rid of the 'conteurs' in any summary fashion. I believe, however, that we must deal with the two passages in exactly the same manner. Marie, in my opinion, found all the facts she needed for her 'lai' in a poem on Tristan which is precisely the old romance that Thomas set himself to rework.⁸ And like Thomas, she adapted these facts to the requirements of a literary ideal of her own. Why, then, did she mention the 'conteurs'? Hardly, I think, with the purpose of deceiving her readers. Indeed if these had any concern at all in the matter, they were likely to set a higher valuation on a tale expressly derived from a "book" than on any rendering of a jongleur's recital. We must seek elsewhere. One gen-

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ See for instance G. Paris, *Rom.*, VII, p. 426.

⁷ Éd. Warnke, 1900.

⁸ See *Zeitschr. für rom. Phil.*, XXXII [1908], pp. 276-285.

⁴ *Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neuen Zeit*, 1907, p. 139.

erally hesitates to explain away a passage from which far-reaching conclusions have long been drawn, by suggesting a meaningless mannerism, a mere trick in phraseology; yet I do this with some confidence. At least the following quotations, all from Marie's works, seem to me to point unmistakably in one direction:

e pur ceo kil aueit *escriit*,⁹
si cum la reïne l'ot *dit*. . .
Chievrefueil, ll. 109-10.

es bons livres e es *escriit*
e es essamples e es *diz*. . .
Fables, Prologue, ll. 3-4.¹⁰

Voeil en romanz mettre en *escriit*,
Si cum li livre le nus *dit*. . .
Espurgatoire, ll. 3-4.¹¹

Ço qu'il volstreit eunter e *dire*,
Fist Seinz Patriz iluec *escrire*.
Id., ll. 361-62.

Nus le veïmes en *escriit*,
Issi eume jol vus ai *dit*.
Id., ll. 637-38.

Nuls ne purreit mustrer ne *dire*
Les plurs, les criz, n'en livre *escrire*.
Id., ll. 1109-10.

True, in all these passages, the meanings of the two terms *escrire* and *dire* are kept tolerably distinct, but no one will deny that, as rhyme words, they seem to betray a pretty close affinity. Might it not be, then, that we should have to take in consideration here the exigencies of the verse as well as the requirements of the sense? There is at all events very little doubt in the next set of instances:

si li manderez par *escriit*
e par paroles e par *dit*. . .
Milun, ll. 71-72.

Al chief de piece veit *l'escriit*,
ceo qu'il ot eumandé e *dit*. . .
Id., ll. 231-32.

⁹This is the reading of ms. H which ought to be preferred here as elsewhere (see *Zeitschr. für rom. Phil.*, xxxii, p. 280).

¹⁰Éd. Warnke, 1898.

¹¹Éd. Jenkins, 1903.

Ceo fu la sume de *l'escriit*
qu'il li aveit mandé e *dit*. . .
Chievrefueil, ll. 61-62.

Ci comenceraï la premiere
des fables qu'Esopes *escriist*,
qu'a sun mestre manda e *dist*.
Fables, Prologue, ll. 38-40.

Al finement de cest *escriit*
qu'en Romanz ai traitié e *dit*. . .
Id., Epilogue, ll. 1-2.

Ço que jo vus ai ici *dit*
E tut mustré par mun *escriit*.
Espurgatoire, ll. 2061-62.

Obviously in every case here '*escriit*' is the right word, and '*dit*' is but an echo which adds nothing to the meaning but stands the poet in good stead at the end of the other line of the couplet. Marie goes even one step further: she is so used to rhyming *dire* on *escrire*, she keeps the two words so little apart from each other that she seems unaware of the wrong meaning that may occasionally be read into them.

El tens le roi Estefne *dit*,
Si cum nus trovum en *escriit*. . .
Espurgatoire, ll. 503-04.

Does it not look at first as if the one who *said* was different from the one who *wrote*? And yet both words must clearly be referred to the same manuscript of Henri de Saltrey which Marie closely followed in her translation.

Pur ceo nus mustre par *escriit*,
meinte feiz est trové e *dit*. . .
Fables, 83, ll. 43-44.

Again, we are apparently dealing here with a writer and one or several '*conteurs*'; yet we have no reason to suppose that for this particular fable Marie used other sources than the collection of Alfred.

Par vieil essample truis *escriit*
e Esopes le cunte e *dit*. . .
Id., 93, ll. 1-2.

Once more, in spite of appearances, we are not to interpret that Æsop told a story which is also found written '*par vieil essample*'; in

both cases the work of Alfred is meant. Finally we come to a couplet which offers a pretty close parallel to the lines of *Chèvrefeuille* under discussion:¹²

D'un escharbot nus cunte e dit,
e jeo l'ai trové en escrit . . .
Id., 74, ll. 1-2.

This, at first sight, is very explicit and seems to point to two distinct sources; yet there is no doubt but that here again we are referred to the same original: Alfred it is who "cunte e dit" and as to the book where the tale was found written of course it is Alfred's.

Whether there is any reason for putting a different interpretation on *Chievrefueil*, 5-6, and on the lines from Thomas' *Tristan* which we first examined, the reader will decide for himself.

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AN ERROR IN BALAUSTION'S ADVENTURE.

The vulgate texts of Browning's *Balaustion's Adventure* exhibit in a certain line a curious variation of readings which seems to have escaped the notice of critics and annotators. In line 346 of the *Alcestis* Admetus says:

οὐτ' ἂν φρέν' ἐξαίρομι πρὸς Λίβυν λακεῖν αἰλόν.

Browning turned the line thus, if we may trust the latest editions:

"Never now for me . . . to lift my soul in song
At summons of the Lydian (*sic*) flute."

It is not in the manner of Browning with malice aforethought deliberately to alter "Libyan" of the original to "Lydian." In the first place the connotation is vitally affected. As

¹² Plusur le m'unt cunté e dit — e jeo l'ai trové en escrit. It would be vain to argue that 'plusur' makes the assertion more definite: it just fills in the line; or should we attach more weight than one generally does to 'meinte feiz' in the line from the Fables quoted above (*meinte feiz est trové e dit*)?

all commentators point out, Euripides applied the term "Libyan" to the αἰλός because the lotus-wood from which it was fashioned came from Africa. The epithet was a favorite one and was utilized freely by the poet in subsequent dramas. The identical expression occurs in the *Hercules Furens*, 684; the variant Λίβυς λωτός is found in *Helen*, 170, *Troades*, 544, and *Iphigenia at Aulis*, 1036. "Lydian," when used in connection with the αἰλός or tibia, has to do with the quality or the style of the music rather than with the instrument itself. Secondly, as every reader of Browning knows, in the transcripts from the Greek, localizing adjectives, mythological designations, appellatives in general, are conserved with an accuracy which a jaunty periphrast like Dryden deemed worthy only of a "Dutch pedant." Undoubtedly to the English ear in which Horace's "Lydis tibiis," *Odes*, 4, 15, 30 and Milton's "soft Lydian airs" are ringing, "Lydian flute" has a sound less recondit than "Libyan flute." But our *poeta doctissimus* seldom if ever condescended thus to defer to his readers. Witness Browning Glossaries, Guide-Books, and Cyclopædias! Lastly—in the version of the *Hercules Furens* contained in *Aristophanes's Apology* which, it will be remembered, appeared in 1875, four years after the publication of *Balaustion's Adventure*, the poet rendered line 684 literally and correctly:

"Companied by the seven-stringed tortoise shell
And Libuan flute."

Is "Lydian flute," therefore, a slip committed by the poet? Is it a compositor's error? In what is, I fancy, the Cis-Atlantic *editio princeps* of *Balaustion's Adventure*, printed from the advance sheets by James R. Osgood, at Boston, in 1871, I find the hybrid reading "Lybian flute"—a palpable misprint. Does this form hark back to "Lydian" or to "Libyan?" Did the Boston proof-reader of a generation ago let a reversed *d* escape him or a transposition of *y* and *i*? The former mistake is perhaps the easier but either is typographically possible. The exemplars of the Riverside Edition (Houghton and Mifflin, Cambridge)

issued prior to 1887 repeat this absurd error; however, in the edition of 1887 the reading is corrected to "Libyan flute." This fact might be taken as proof that Mr. Browning did not mis-read Euripides but that compositors mis-read Mr. Browning, or that proof-readers bungled—until 1887. But the end is not yet. In the later Riverside Edition of 1899 in which the publishers "made sure of following with scrupulous care the author's latest revised text" "Lydian flute" appears. The standard text of Smith and Elder, London, 1889, presents the same reading. It is found also in the edition which was sponsored and annotated by the editors of *Poet Lore*, Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clark, Boston, 1898. This edition, too, the title page informs one, was printed "from the author's revised text."

Browning spent much of his time in the last two years of his life in revising his published works. The editions, therefore, which have appeared since 1889, should represent the poet's final version, as they purport to do. In this case, then, Mr. Browning will have to father a mistranslation. Psychologically considered, the slip is as interesting as it is excusable, notwithstanding the change in content involved. Paronomasia and the confusion of ideas closely associated in kind—both Lydian and Libyan are adjectives of nationality—exerted their effects. It was in precisely similar fashion that Munro, the translator of Lucretius, lapsed into the error to which attention was directed in the *Classical Review* for March, 1907, p. 48. In a passage in the *De Rerum Natura*, 6, 992, where the talk is of metals, the Scotch scholar rendered *vitro* by brass!

To err is human—even for the great. In Browning's case assonance and association were aided and abetted by reminiscence, possibly unconscious, of those stock phrases of poetical parlance that I have quoted—"Lydian pipes" and "Lydian airs." The sub-conscious self is as tricky a sprite as Robin Goodfellow and may have caught napping one who knew his Euripides as well as did Robert Browning—in spite of the array of parallel passages cited above.

There is a further consideration which adds a spice of humor to the matter. In respect to spelling both "Lydian" and "Libyan" are out of keeping with Browning's orthographical creed. Mr. Browning, as is well known, had decided notions as to the transcription of proper names from the Greek. In *Artemis Prologizes* he adopted the system to which he stoutly adhered notwithstanding considerable adverse criticism. Read his own remarks on the subject in the preface of the *Agamemnon* and in a note elicited in 1886 by the fun which Mr. Frederic Harrison¹ poked at the "reformed spelling." This note is printed by Mrs. Sutherland Orr at the end of her *Handbook to Robert Browning's Works*, and is repeated by Mr. George Willis Cooke in the *Browning Guide-Book*, p. 37. Browning's method of spelling "Greek names and places precisely as does the Greek author," prescribed *Ludian*, not *Lydian*, *Libuan*, not *Libyan*. It is respectfully suggested to future publishers and editors of *Balaustion's Adventure* that if after "the latest revised text," they must make Admetus say "Lydian flute," they tamper with the text tradition in so far as may be necessary to avoid "Lydian flute" for line 346 of the *Alcestis* and "Ludian slave" for line 675. To parody the immortal Weller *père*—let them not "spell it with a vye."

Whilst I am speaking up—in Balaustion's words—like

"a brisk little somebody,
Critic and whippersnapper in a rage
To set things right,"

I may as well in conclusion mention the fact that Mr. Berdcoe's *Cyclopædia*, and the notes in the Porter and Clarke edition sedulously avoid comment on "Lydian" in the first passage in which it occurs but become judiciously exegetical at the second appearance of the word with the correct spelling *à la* Browning.

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¹ *Nineteenth Century* for January, 1886.

ZU TELLS MONOLOG.

Auf eine interessante Ähnlichkeit zwischen der Situation bei Tells Monolog vor der Ermordung Gesslers und der in Müllers *Golo und Genoveva*, II, 3, wo Wallrad von Sponheim den Mord Mathildens sinnt, sei hiermit aufmerksam gemacht.

In beiden Fällen haben wir einen Helden, der sich absondert von den ihn zum Frohsinn und Genusz einladenden Fröhlichen; der durch einen Widersacher von seinem sonstigen tugendhaften Leben abgebracht, Mordgedanken im Herzen hegt; der seinem Wild auf der Spur, der schweren Tat bevorsteht; Musik und Frohsinn als Begleitung, zu denen der Held nicht stimmt; beide Schützer der Tugend und der Unschuld; beide sich mit ihrem Vorhaben in einer langen Rede auseinandersetzend; (und wenn wir die Fortsetzung von Wallrads Rede S. 52 dazunehmen) beide zu Lastern verführt, die ursprünglich nicht in ihrer Natur lagen; Wallrad, Herz, Ohr und Auge apostrophierend, ganz in der Art, wie Tell Pfeil und Bogensehne anredet.

Der Anschaulichkeit halber seien hier die Hauptstellen einander gegenübergestellt:¹

Wallrad: S. 52, 22-27.

Ha, Mathilde, du raubst mir auch noch die Hoffnung sur Seligkeit einst; ich bin deinetwegen alles schon geworden, hast mich mit Lastern verwandt, zu denen nie vor Neigung in meinem Herzen lag. Rache! Rache! Bald nun über dich so, geleitet selbst von der Hand . . . von ihm—oh!

Tell: Zz. 2570. ff.

Ich lebte still und harmlos, das Geschoss
War auf des Waldes Tiere nur gerichtet,
Meine Gedanken waren rein von Mord.
Du hast aus meinem Frieden mich heraus
Geschreckt, in gärend Drachengift hast du
Die Milch der frommen Denkart mir verwandelt;
Zum Ungeheuren hast du mich gewöhnt.
Wer sich des Kindes Haupt zum Ziele setzte,
Der kann auch treffen in das Herz des Feinds.

¹ Der schillersche Text nach Bellermanns Ausgabe, der müllersche nach Sauer in Kürschners *Deutscher Nationalliteratur*, Bd. 81.

Wallrad: S. 41, 9-11.

Aber ruhig, mein Mut, bis zum Augenblick der Rache; Habe nun mein Wild auf der Spur, Mathilde, dich mit Netz und Garn umzogen.

Tell: Zz. 2637 ff.

Ich laure auf ein edles Wild. Lässt sich's
Der Jäger nicht verdrieszen, tagelang
Umherzustreifen in des Winters Strenge,
Von Fels zu Fels den Wagesprung zu tun,
Hinanzuklimmen an den glatten Wänden,
Wo er sich anleimt mit dem eignen Blut,
Um ein armselig Grattier zu erjagen!
Hier gilt es einen köstlicheren Preis,
Das Herz des Todfeinds, der mich will verderben.

Wallrad: S. 41, 16-18.

Ha, was giebt's im Garten? Lauter Musik und Fröhlichkeit, lauter Hüpfen und Wohlleben! Will bald auch musizieren, aber aus einem andern Ton.

Tell: (*Bühnenanweisung*. Nach Z. 2645).

(Man hört von ferne eine heitere Musik, welche sich nähert.)

Bühnenanweisung: (Nach Z. 2652).

Eine Hochzeit zieht über die Szene und durch den Hohlweg hinauf. Tell betrachtet sie, auf seinen Bogen gelehnt. Stüssi, der Flurschütz, gesellt sich zu ihm.

Wallrad: S. 41, 26-7.

Bin nur aus Verzweiflung ein Schützer der Tugend.

Tell: Zz. 2634-6.

Und doch an euch nur denkt er, lieben Kinder,
Auch jetzt — euch zu verteid'gen, eure holde
Unschuld
Zu schützen vor der Rache des Tyrannen,
Will er zum Morde jetzt den Bogen spannen.

Es fragt sich nun, ob diese Übereinstimmung rein zufällig oder ob Schiller von Müller beeinflusst ist, denn eine gemeinsame Quelle der Situation ist nicht anzunehmen, da das Volksbuch von der Genoveva derartiges nicht bietet, auch eine anderweitige gemeinsame Quelle nicht nachgewiesen werden kann. Auch die vierte denkbare Möglichkeit, dass hier Müller von Schiller beeinflusst worden sei, ist zu verwerfen, da *Golo* schon 1781 fertig vorlag,² und soviel wir wissen, spätere Abänderungen nicht erlitt.

² Heinse schreibt am 27. Okt. 1781 von Rom aus an Jakobi: Müller hat ein grosses Drama fertig, *Genoveva*, voll von Vortrefflichkeiten.

Es bleiben also die zwei erstgenannten Möglichkeiten, doch scheint mir bei der schlagenden, selbst bis auf die Worte, "Ich laure auf edles Wild" und "habe nun mein Wild auf der Spur" sich erstreckenden Übereinstimmung, die erstgenannte so gut wie ausgeschlossen.

Wie ist Schiller aber die Kenntnis des Stückes übermittelt worden? Im Druck hat er es nicht gesehen, da es 1811 zum erstenmal gedruckt wurde.³

Man denkt zuallererst an Goethe, der lange mit Müller in Briefwechsel stand und zwar in den Jahren von 1778 ab; doch war Schiller auf diesem Wege nichts übermittelt worden, da Müller zwar in dem schiller-goethischen Briefwechsel genannt, die *Genoveva* jedoch nie erwähnt wird. Auch Goethe kennt die fertige Arbeit offenbar nicht. Auch von anderen erfährt Schiller nichts soweit aus seinen Briefen zu ersehen ist.

Schwerer ist festzustellen, ob Schiller etwa auf mündlichem Wege diesbezügliche Kenntnis zugeflossen, doch ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass Schiller bei seinem Aufenthalt in Mannheim, 1782-85, von Dahlberg, oder sonst durch den müllerschen Freundeskreis, dies und das über Müllers Werke vernommen habe (Müller selber weilte zur Zeit bereits in Rom.). Um so annehmbarer ist dies, als *Genoveva* in Müllers mannheimer Zeit angefangen und wahrscheinlich ziemlich weit gediehen war, Dahlberg es deshalb gut kennen musste, selbst wenn er von Rom aus keine Abschrift des nun fertig gewordenen Werkes erhalten hatte.

Falls nun Schiller auf diesem Wege etliches aus *Golo* und *Genoveva* kennen lernte, so war ihm die Situation im Gedächtnis geblieben und wurde, als im *Tell* eine ähnliche Situation nötig wurde, ob in zur Zeit bewusster oder unbewusster Anlehnung an Müller verwertet.

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³ Maler Müllers Werke, Heidelberg bei J. C. B. Mohr, 1811, 3 Bände. Darin zum ersten Male gedruckt: III, 1-420, *Golo und Genoveva*.

"EINEN HASEN LAUFEN LASSEN" IN GOETHE'S *DICHTUNG UND WAHRHEIT*.

In the fourth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe describes two of the eccentric characters of his native town, von Reineck and von Malapart. While examining the flowers in Malapart's garden the two old gentlemen get into a discussion which threatens to develop into a serious quarrel. To avoid an open rupture their friends try to change the subject of conversation. Goethe says:¹

"Sie liessen einen Hasen nach dem andern laufen (dies war unsre sprichwörtliche Redensart, wenn ein Gespräch sollte unterbrochen und auf einen andern Gegenstand gelenkt werden); allein es wollte nichts verfangen."

Heyne in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. iv, 2, p. 530, explains *Hase* as "Bild für eine Schnurre, einen närrischen, lustigen Streich" and believes that this metaphor, though faded, appears in our passage. Heyne's explanation, however, does not fit the context. There is no indication that the dignified company in Malapart's garden indulge in any humorous or witty remarks, the contrary is true. Sanders (*Wörterbuch*, vol. i, p. 220) suggests the hunting term *Wechselhase* and Loeper agrees with him (*Dicht. u. Wahrh.*, vol. i, p. 220, *Textrevision*): "Wechselhase, d. i. ein neu aufgejagter Hase, der die Aufmerksamkeit von dem erst gejagten ablenkt, solche Wechselhasen also liessen die Hausfreunde in Goethes Erzählung laufen."

The correct explanation has been given by R. M. Werner in Schnorr's *Archiv*, vol. xv, p. 287. He refers the expression to the popular story of King Solomon and Marcolphus. Solomon has commanded that the dogs should be let loose upon Marcolphus if the latter should presume to enter the castle again. Marcolphus, however, buys a hare, conceals it under his clothes and when the dogs set upon him, he lets the hare run and so rids himself of the dogs.

There is another version of this story which corresponds more closely to the use of the phrase

¹ Ed. Loeper, vol. i, p. 149; Hempel ed., vol. xx, p. 149.

by Goethe. It is told about the well-known Saxon court-jester, poet and university professor Friedrich Taubmann.² The story is found in the collection of witty sayings first published at Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1703 with the title *Taubmanniana* (cf. Goedeke, vol. III, p. 267). This work was frequently reprinted, the last edition appearing in 1746.³ The Harvard Library contains a copy of this book without title-page and introduction. Whether it is the edition of 1703 or one of the later editions I am unable to say. On p. 182 we find the following anecdote entitled *Die gehetzten Hasen*:

“Taubmann war bey dem Churfürsten in grossen Ungnaden, auch allenthalben befohlen, dass so er sich wieder bey dem Churfürstlichen Hof anmelden liesse, ihn mit den Hunden abzuhetzen. Aber Taubmann ersonne diese List: Er kaufte drey lebendige Haasen, nahm sie unter seinen langen Mantel, und gieng damit zu Hofe. Kaum war Taubmann zum Schloss-Hofe eingetreten, wurden alsbald etliche Hunde an ihn gehetzt: Geschwinde liess Taubmann einen Haasen lauffen, und damit, weil die Hunde dem Haasen nachliefen, kam Taubmann über den Schloss-Hof mit Frieden hinüber. Indem er aber die Treppen wolte hinauff gehen, kamen ihm andere Windspiele entgegen; Taubmann liess geschwind einen andern Haasen unter dem Mantel hervor springen, welchen die Hunde die Treppe hinab verfolgten; und also kam Taubmann in das Churfürstl. Gemach. Aber ein ander Windspiel wartete auff unsern Taubmann, dass es also unmöglich schiene, das Churfürstl. Gemach einzukommen. Jedoch, als Taubmann auch den dritten Haasen unter seinem langen Mantel hervor springen liess, und die Hunde denselben über den Saal verfolgten, bekam Taubmann Luft, in das Churfürstliche Gemach einzutreten. Worüber sich der Churfürst hertzlich verwunderte, und dieser List halben Taubmann sehr freundlich bewillkommete.”

The story fully explains Goethe's phrase “einen Hasen laufen lassen.” Its use cannot have been very common, for Goethe himself

deems it necessary to give an explanation. It may have been an expression current only among Goethe's companions, who were doubtless familiar with the *Taubmanniana*. Wanders *Sprichwörterlexicon* (vol. II, p. 376, No. 217) registers the phrase and gives *Dichtung und Wahrheit* as source.

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NOTES SUGGESTED BY A CHAUCER CODEX.

The present note upon ms. Lambeth Palace 344 is made as a supplement to Mr. Lucius Hudson Holt's ingenious reconstruction of Chaucer's *Lak of Stedfastnesse*,—in the April number of the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1907.

Mr. Holt has carefully compared the mss. of the poem, as given in Dr. Furnivall's various prints in the Chaucer Society publications. The critical text which results from this study is closest to the text as given in ms. Hatton 73. The variations from this text are:—

and for but, l. 3.

throw (through) for for, l. 6.

folk for folkes, l. 9.

worpynesse for rightwesnesse, l. 20.

to, omitted in l. 12.

These changes are all supported by other mss., but there is no proof given that the sense is improved by a departure from ms. Hatton 73.

But Mr. Holt had no intention of following Hatton 73. That his critical text is closer to it than to any other, he was quite unconscious. He tells us (p. 427), “our text must be made up from a careful collaboration of mss. H. (Harley 7333), S. (Shirley's ms. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20), and F. (ms. Bodley Fairfax 16) with Hat. (Hatton 73) Tr. and B.” (two worthless texts) “to check up the results and aid in doubtful cases.” He thus plainly classes Hatton 73 with secondary texts. Yet his critical text differs from S. in seven places: from H. in ten and from F. in nine places; and from Hat. in only five places.

I emphasize the importance of ms. Hatton 73 in this connection, because of its immediate rela-

² Cf. F. W. Ebeling, *Friedrich Taubmann. Ein Kulturbild*, Leipzig, 1882.

³ Cf. L. Fränkel in *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, vol. 37, p. 440.

tion with the hitherto unnoticed ms. Lambeth 344, both in this poem and in its entire contents. I compare the contents of the two mss. at once, omitting as immaterial the fact that most of the pieces here noted appear elsewhere. What is more to the point is that items 3 and 7 do not appear outside of these two mss. so far as I have been able to discover.

Ms. Lambeth 344 :

1. Lydgate's "Vertues of the Masse," fol. 1a-8a, a fragment beginning with the 24th stanza and running to the end. Hatton 73, fol. 1a, contains last stanza of the poem "Upon the Cross," fol. 1a and b; without a break comes Lydgate's "Mass" to the 39th stanza.
2. "Salvum fac regem, domine," a prayer in eight line stanzas, fol. 8b-10a. Not in Hatton 73. See below.
3. "Prayer in Old Age" (Lydgate), fol. 10a, Hatton 73, fol. 116a-b.
4. "Truth" (Chaucer) 10b. Hatton, fol. 118.
 "Truth": 7. Hatton 73, *the shal*] Lamb. 344, *shall the*.
 12. *crok*] *crokes*. 15. *the*] *om. hyt, inserted*. 20. *weyve*] *weye*.
5. "Lak of Stedfastnesse" (Chaucer), fol. 1a, Hatton 73, 119a.
 "L. of St." 2. *mannes*] *man ys*. 13. *wilful*] *om. causeth*] *couseth*. 14. *al*] *om.*
6. "Queen of Heaven" (Lydgate), fols. 11a-12b. Hatton 73, fols. 119b-120b.
7. "Optima Oratio," a short Latin prayer with translation, fols. 12b-13a, Hatton 73, fol. 121a-b.
8. "Life of Our Lady" (Lydgate), fols. 13a-199b, with table of chapters at beginning. Hatton 73, fols. 10a-115b. The table of contents is in fols. 117a-118b, and Chaucer's "Truth" follows the end of the table, 118b.

Four folios have been lost from the beginning of Hatton 73. These may have contained Lambeth's art. 2. Otherwise Hatton contains every article in the Lambeth ms. and one stanza not in Lambeth. But as that is in the beginning of Hatton, and Lambeth too lacks its first leaves, it is easy to believe this article was also in Lambeth 344.

We have then, with these exceptions, two mss. with identically the same contents. The order varies only in respect to the article forming the body of the book.

Both mss. are on vellum with illuminated initials, in good hands of the middle xv century. The Hatton volume is by far the more elegant, however. At first glance, the haphazard order of Hatton 73 would make one think it the later ms., but the text of Lambeth 344 is obviously inferior. We may, therefore, guess that Hatton 73 was compiled from various sources, while Lambeth 344 represents the putting to rights of Hatton 73. Hatton is in three hands, Lambeth in one.

I pass over the poems by Lydgate, remarking only that my collation of them for a forthcoming edition shows that Lambeth 344 is copied from Hatton 73 in every case. Its readings where different are always inferior and are the result of careless transcribing. I give one instance of my proof. The *envoy* to "Queen of Heaven" contains four lines riming in all other mss. *a-b-b-a*. But the scribe of Hatton 73, after copying the lines in order, found the plan strange to his ear,—and it was strange to English poetry till "In Memoriam,"—so he wrote "b." alongside l. 3 and "a" alongside l. 4. The obedient scribe of L. 344 wrote the lines accordingly *a-b-a-b*, though the sense is utterly against such an arrangement.

In the belief that a print of every text of Chaucer is justifiable, I now give my transcription of *Truth* and *Lak of Stedfastnesse* as they appear in Lambeth 344. At the same time I point out that the ms. is worthless for editors, since it is only a careless copy of ms. Hatton 73. But even that fact will probably raise the Hatton ms. to more consideration at the hands of the next editor of the Minor Poems. This it certainly deserves.

[Lamb. 344.]

[10b.]

GOODE COUNSELLE

Fle fro the prees & dwell wyth sothefastnesse
 Suffyce vnto thy good thought it be small
 For hoorde hathe hate and clymyng tykelnese
 Prees hath envye and wele ys blent ouer all
 Savcour no more than the be hove shalle
 Do well thy self that other folk canst rede
 And trowthe shall the dylyuere yt ys no drede
 Peyne the not alle crokede to redresse
 In trust of here that turneth as a balle

Gret reest stondeth yn lytell besynesse
 Be war also to spurne ageynst analle
 Stryf nat as dothe the crokes wyth the walle
 Daunt thy self that dauntest others dede
 And trowthe the shal dylyuere yt ys no drede
 That ys sent reseuyue hyt yn buxsumnesse
 The wrastylige wyth the wor[]le axeth a fall
 Here ys non home here ys byt wyldernesse
 Forth pylgryme forth beest oute of thy stall
 Loke vp an hye and thanke god of alle
 Weye thy lust and lete thy gost the lede
 And trowyth the shal dylyver yt ys no drede.

[11a.]

Som tyme thys world was so stedfast and stable
 That man ys word was oblygacyoun
 Byt now yt ys so fals and disceyvable
 That word and dede as yn conclusyoun
 Be no thyng one for turned vp so downe
 In alle thys worle for mede and wyfulnesse
 That alle ys lost for lake of stedfastnesse.

Whath maketh thys worle to be so varyable
 But lust that folkes haue yndyscencyoun
 For nowe a dayes a man ys holde vnable
 But yf he can by sum conclusyoun
 Do to hys neyghbour wrong or oppressyoun
 What couseth that but wrecchednesse
 That ys lost for lake of stedfastnesse

Trought ys put down resoun hys holde fable
 Vertu hathe nowe no domynacyoun
 Pyte exyled no man ys mercyable
 Thorough covetyse ys blent dyscresioun
 The worle hath made a parmytacyoun
 Fro ryght to wronge fro trought to fykulnesse
 That alle ys lost for lake of stedfastnesse.

O prynce desyre to be honorable
 Cherysse thy folke and hate entorcyoun
 Suffre no thyng that may be reprovale
 To thyn estate don yn thy regyoun
 Shewe forth thy swerd of castygacyoun
 Drede god do lawe love trowt and ryghtwesnesse
 And dryve thy peple ageyne to stedfastnesse.

These baladdys were sent to the kyng

The word *baladdys* here refers to the four stanzas of "Lak of Stedfastnesse"; a common usage. This title, as well as "Goode Counselle," are copied from Hatton 73; they are given in the Chaucer Society print of Hatton. But Hatton had other titles originally, as I found recently by applying acid. The revived titles in the fine cultured hand of the copyist of these two poems read: ("Truth") *Chauncier [his?] balade vp on his deth bed*: ("Lak of Stedfastnesse") *Geffrey Chauncier sende these Balades to kyng Richard*.

The first of these headings is particularly valuable, since it sets the statement given on an earlier and firmer basis than John Shirley's word (in *ms. Tr. Coll. R. 3. 20*); for Hatton is not derived from Shirley. The motive for the erasures is hard to guess; perhaps Chaucer's relations with Richard II did not please a Lancastrian queen (see below).

To these texts I add the last stanza of *Lak of Stedfastnesse*, as it appears twice (fols. 245b and 319a) in *ms. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21*. It is there appended to Lydgate's "Prayer for King, Queen, People and Land," the poem being made over for King Edward IV. The *ms.* dates from this reign. I am unaware of any print of this version, though it has been known for some time. Mr. Holt does not mention it.

(fol. 245b.)

O prynce desyre for to be honorable
 Cherysse thy folk and hate extorcion
 Suffre nothyng that may be reprovale
 In thyn estate doone in thy region
 Shew forthe thy swerde of castigacion
 Drede god do lawe loue trowthe and worthynes
 And dryue thy folke agayn to stedfastnes

*Explicit quod Rogerus Thorney.*¹

The version on fol. 319a is identical with the above, except that *agayn* is spelt *ayene*, and the *Explicit* is omitted.

A late Scots text of "Lak of Stedfastnesse" is in the Maitland Folio *ms.* in the Pepysian collection at Cambridge, p. 330. It has never been printed, so far as I know.

May I add a further word in defense of *ms. Hatton 73*? "Thys is my Lady More boke. And sumtym it was Queene Margarete boke," (folio 121b); "Thys ys my lady Dame Elizabeth Wyndesore Boke, the xiii day off Decembre in the iijth yere of the Reygn off kyng Herry the viijth," (folio 122a). This latter lady died 1531, as a later note signed 'Clarke,' fol. 123a, tells us.

Surely a volume enjoyed by all these noble ladies deserves a prime place in the noble roll of Chaucer *mss.*

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¹A worthy mercer of London, by whose means Wynkyn de Worde printed Trevisa's "De Proprietatibus Rerum"; mentioned in de Worde's preface.

SPANISH LITERATURE.

Crónica de Enrique IV, escrita en Latín por ALONSO DE PALENCIA. Traducción Castellana por D. A. PAZ Y MELIA. Tomos I-IV, Madrid, 1904-1908. Colección de Escritores Castellanos, Tomos 126, 127, 130, 134.

Owing to the fact that only a few short fragments of this chronicle have ever been published, even in the original, the work has been practically inedited; and unknown to all but a very small group of specialists. The Royal Academy of History at Madrid more than seventy years ago recognized the importance of the work, and has since then made two attempts to publish it. The Academy has lacked, however, the necessary funds for completing the task. In the meanwhile, the editors of the *Colección de Escritores Castellanos* have seen fit to publish a Spanish translation of the Latin original and have been fortunate enough to secure as translator the scholarly chief of the Department of Manuscripts of the National Library at Madrid.

The reign of Enrique IV has been known to us hitherto chiefly through the panegyric of his chaplain, Enríquez del Castillo who, while recognizing certain very unpleasant facts, usually finds some means of diminishing the blame that should in consequence thereof attach to the King and his supporters. The present work looks at matters from a very different point of view, so different in fact that even to one thoroughly familiar with Castillo's account, the reading of Palencia's *Crónica* will bear all the charm of novelty; and yet, despite this difference in point of view (or perhaps because of it), the two accounts bear each other out in a most unusual way. It must be borne in mind, too, that Alonso de Palencia was, like Castillo, an eye-witness of much that he recounts. Many of his statements have a very modern ring. His attitude on moral questions and especially his attitude toward Truth is in almost absolute harmony with that of our own day. He does not let a false sense of patriotism,

or a false regard for the Church, stand in the way of his telling the Truth as he sees it; and every one, whether Pope, Cardinal, King, Grandee or pleb, is excoriated when the author believes him guilty of offence; and offences there were aplenty, as witness the author's own words in the prologue:

"En tiempos pasados referí con especial complacencia los orígenes de la nación española; hoy me veo obligado á escribir sucesos que se resisten á la pluma. No se extrañe, por tanto, que el estilo decaiga ante la bajeza de los hechos y que se anuble el entendimiento al no hallar nada digno de gloria. Así vacilé largo tiempo entre emprender ó abandonar la presente historia, pues si por una parte mi cargo me impulsaba á escribirla, por otra, lo abyecto de los sucesos me desalentaba, repugnando al ánimo lo que la obligación me imponía. * * * Un poderoso estímulo pone, sin embargo, en mi mano la pluma al ver á príncipes por todo extremo indignos levantar de su abyecta condición á perversos aduladores, empeñados en ensalzar en sus escritos las más bajas acciones y en velar con hipócritas disfraces las torpes que de palabra reconocieron vituperables ó encubrieron con disimulo. Género de perversión es éste, que, cierto, yo trataré de destruir con la verdad misma, sin tener en nada el parecer de los que dicen que el historiador ha de callar los crímenes nefandos para que no vaya transmitiéndose de siglo en siglo su memoria. Poco sentido demuestran, en efecto, si creen más conveniente para las costumbres semejante silencio que el vituperio de las maldades, siendo de evidencia para todo hombre sensato que el consentir el mal contribuye más á propagarlo que á su imitación la censura. Así pues, yo me esforzaré porque los lectores vean claramente que no ha faltado un amante de la verdad, ya que han existido fautores de la mentira á quienes los rodeos de la narración harán con facilidad reconocer, cuando se lea la vida de Enrique IV diversa del relato que sigue."

It may be that the last phrase quoted from the prologue is a very thinly veiled reference to the account by Enríquez del Castillo mentioned above. This is the more likely in view of the hostility that is known to have existed between the two men, and in view of other more pointedly uncomplimentary remarks to be found in Palencia.¹ It should be remarked,

¹ Década Primera, Libro X, Capítulo I.—Tomo II, pp. 92-93.

further, that Alonso de Palencia's *Crónica* not only bears out the prologue in the impression which it gives of absolute sincerity in the relation of the events, but also in the impression of the author's spiritual torture at being obliged to record such events.

The Spanish title of the work does not do it entire justice, since the author begins with the marriage of Don Enrique to Doña Blanca de Navarra in the reign of Juan II, fourteen years before Enrique's reign began, and continues the account three years beyond Enrique's death, so as to include the peaceful establishment of Ferdinand and Isabella upon the throne of the united Spains; in other words, from 1440 to 1477. Still, it would seem that due proportions have been kept in dealing with the main subject as indicated by the title. For example, the first two books are devoted to a brief consideration of the reign of Juan II. They occupy the first one hundred and forty-two pages of the first volume, and form a well-proportioned introduction to the main subject. The remaining eight books of the first *década*, and all of the second *década* (1203 pages) are devoted to the reign of Enrique IV. The third *década* (657 pages) deals with the three years immediately following, and forms a very good post-script.

It has been noted that Alonso de Palencia criticised ruthlessly all persons whom he considered guilty of offence against the laws of righteousness. In the account of the festivities at Córdoba preceding the wedding ceremony of Enrique IV to Juana of Portugal, he has these bare facts to relate:²

"Al fin comenzaron diversos espectáculos dispuestos por los cordobeses, ignorantes de la tristeza del futuro cónyuge, por más que su impotencia fuese ya de antemano generalmente conocida. Pasábanse los días en la distracción de los juegos, y la nobleza acudía á muy varias atenciones, pues la juventud había hallado recientes estímulos al deleite en el séquito de la Reina, compuesto de jóvenes de noble linaje y deslumbradora belleza, pero más inclinadas á las seducciones de lo que á doncellas convenfa; que nunca se vió en parte alguna reunión de ellas

que así careciese de toda útil enseñanza. Ninguna ocupación honesta las recomendaba; ociosamente y por do quier se entregaban á solitarios coloquios con sus respectivos galanes. Lo deshonesto de su traje excitaba la audacia de los jóvenes, y extremábanla sobremanera sus palabras aún más provocativas. Las continuas carcajadas en la conversación, el ir y venir constante de los medianeros, portadores de groseros billetes, y la ansiosa voracidad que día y noche las aquejaba, eran más frecuentes entre ellas que en los mismos burdeles. El tiempo restante le dedicaban al sueño, cuando no consumían la mayor parte en cubrirse el cuerpo con afeites y perfumes, y esto sin hacer de ello el menor secreto, antes descubrían el seno hasta más allá del estómago, y desde los dedos de los pies, los talones y canillas, hasta la parte más alta de los muslos, interior y exteriormente, cuidaban de pintarse con blanco afeite, para que al caer de sus hacaneas, como con frecuencia ocurría, brillase en todos sus miembros uniforme blancura."

The passage just quoted is not very flattering to the Spanish Court circle, and is especially severe toward the Portuguese ladies in the suite of the virtuous and unhappy prospective Queen Doña Juana. But the licentiousness therein portrayed pales before the pusillanimity of the King in such instances as the following. The Court being lodged at Seville, the King kept up his usual pretence of making war upon the Moors of the Kingdom of Granada. That it could be nothing but a pretence is shown by the fact that among his favorites both in the Court and in the army were many Moorish noblemen, officers, and soldiers. In many cases the Moorish noblemen and officers were quartered in the homes of Christian gentlemen. Such was the case with Mofarrax, who lived with Diego Sánchez de Orihuela. The Moor fell violently in love with the beautiful young daughter of his host and she, accustomed to the ways of the gallants, unwisely flirted with him; but because of the difference in their religions she refused to have any more serious relations with him. Mofarrax, counting on the tolerance of the King, who usually favored the Granadinos in their gallantries, decided to resort to force and, taking advantage of a momentary absence of the parents, seized the damsel, gagged her,

² Vol. I, pp. 194-5.

covered her head, bound her hands and, strapping her like a bundle upon a mule and surrounding her with a troop of Moorish horsemen, carried her out of the city and into the Kingdom of Granada. The parents soon returned, and having learned of their misfortune, besought the favor of the King who, to console them, called them *necios y locos por dejar tan mal guardada y sola en la casa á la muchacha, dando así ocasión á aquel capricho*. And when the parents burst forth in still greater lamentations at such an iniquitous answer, he ordered the executioner to flog them publicly because they would not keep silence. In this black picture there is, however, one ray of light. The number of those who were devoted to truth and morality was not very great, as Palencia pointed out, but he seizes upon every opportunity to call those few to our attention. Two such, the Count of Benavente and Don Gonzalo de Guzmán, were present at this scene between the King and the bereaved parents and did not hesitate to voice their opinion of such actions, the latter of them saying, with a fine burst of irony: *También convendrá, señor, que mandéis al pregonero declarar por las calles de la ciudad, que á causa de la violencia y nefando crimen de los moros, perpetrado en tan importante población, mandáis azotar á los padres de la joven robada, por haber implorado con lamentos el favor de vuestra Majestad.*³ In spite of this stinging reprimand, no effort was ever made to recover the girl, nor was she ever restored to her family; and unfortunately her case was far from being unique.

Now that we have seen something of the social conditions so far as the sovereign, the great nobles, and the gentry were concerned, let us turn our attention for a moment to the Church and the treatment it receives at the hands of the author, for he has something to say concerning the actions of Churchmen abroad as well as at home. Although passages concerning the conduct of affairs within the Church, and concerning the interference of

Churchmen in matters extra-ecclesiastical are numerous we shall confine ourselves to two typical passages representative respectively of the foreign and domestic phase of the question.

In the sixth chapter of the fifth book, he gives a brief account of the accession of Calixtus III to the Pontifical throne and has this to say:

"Antes de volver á tratar de muestras propias desdichas, no creo inoportuno referir los osados propósitos del papa Calixto, que murió ya decrepito, casi por el mismo tiempo que el Rey. Por ello se comprenderá fácil y evidentemente, cuán á su perdición caminan de día en día los asuntos de la iglesia, y cómo la barca de San Pedro, sin reparar sus hendiduras, antes desquiciada por voluntario extravío de sus pilotos, va derecha al naufragio, pues cuanto con más urgencia exigen los peligros el abrigo del puerto, destrozado ya el mástil por los vientos, desgarradas las velas y rotos los remos, más se esfuerza la insensata temeridad de los marineros porque zozobre en alta mar.

"Ya referí sucintamente algunos sucesos del pontificado de Eugenio IV, y el verdadero origen de muchas desdichas, y luego la apatía y desidia de Nicolás V, causa de la ruina de Constantinopla. Ahora diré que ó por los apuros cada día mayores, por desgracia de la suerte, ó por funesta astucia, subió al solio pontificio Alfonso de Borgia, doctor en decretos que en el reinado de D. Fernando de Aragón, padre de D. Alonso, fué uno de los consiliarios cuando la iglesia padecía cisma y Benedicto de Luna ponía su confianza en el castillo de Peñíscola más que en su derecho. * * *

"Una vez en posesión de la tiara, Calixto III pospuso todo otro cuidado al de sublimar á la dignidad cardenalicia á sus sobrinos, jóvenes de bajo nacimiento y faltos de cualidades recomendables. A uno de los tres, de instrucción casi nula, le dió el título de general del ejército de la iglesia, con el apellido de Borgia, al que atribuyó tan feliz agüero como al de César. No paró aquí su hinchada arrogancia, sino que se atrevió á resucitar antiquísimos derechos sobre Sicilia, en virtud de los cuales el reino de Nápoles debía poseerse por delegación del Romano Pontífice, y por consiguiente pensó colocar en aquel trono á su sobrino Borgia, destituyendo á D. Alonso por los procedimientos del derecho ó por el empleo de la fuerza."

In the eighth chapter of the same book, the affairs of the Church in Spain receive equally blunt treatment and there is not the slightest attempt to cover up a very disgraceful scandal.

³ Vol. I, p. 198.

Outside the walls of Toledo lay the convent of San Pedro de los Dueñas, whose nuns had long been notorious for the licentious and dissolute life they led. The Archbishop had appointed the noble and virtuous Marchioness de Guzmán Abbess of this convent in order that it might be reformed by her exemplary habits and by her holiness. The King was looking for an opportunity to annoy the prelate and curtail his ecclesiastical authority, and considered this appointment a favorable occasion for carrying out his plans. In the short page devoted to the matter it is hard to tell which is seen in the worse light: the King or the Church.

"* * * envió [el Rey] ministros infeuos que, violando á mano armada la clausura, y despreciando las excomuniones, arrojaron de él torpemente á la Abadesa y á las monjas de honesta conducta que se resistían á la infamia, y dejaron bajo la dirección de D^a Catalina de Sandoval á las que vieron dispuestas á continuar en su vida de escándalo. Esta dama, nada cuidadosa de su honra, buscaba tan libremente el trato de los hombres, que habiendo el Rey intentado (aunque inútilmente a causa de su conocido defecto), hacerla su concubina, y estando ella perdidamente enamorada de un joven de grandes prendas, llamado Alfonso de Córdoba, llegó á solicitarle con tal ardor á sus criminales antojos, que el Rey, inútil rival, fuertemente irritado, mandó degollar á su competidor en la plaza de Medina. Arrastrada á multitud de crímenes por su desenfreno, D^a Catalina se resolvió á continuar hasta el fin su vida de infamia. Aficionóse más á ella el Rey por tal motivo, y hallándose la ciudad, á causa de los crímenes cometidos, sujeta al entredicho que prescriben los cánones, obligó al clero á violarle contra todo derecho, lo cual dió motivo á innumerables escándalos. Resistía el atropello el Arzobispo; parte del clero, dócil á su superior, marchaba al destierro por obedecerle; otra se esforzaba por defender lo hecho. El Rey, entonces poderoso y rodeado de fuerzas numerosas de sus parciales, declaróse hostil al Arzobispo y dióse á investigar su ruina."

That the few passages I have cited do not represent unique, nor even extraordinary, cases is proven by an incident that occurred in 1460. At this time certain Grandees began to look about for some means for bettering the conditions of the Kingdom. They decided to present anew to the King a memorial that

had been presented to him in 1457 and to add thereto reference to certain facts that had occurred in the intervening three years. The tenor of the memorial was as follows:⁴

"Que al subir al trono, y siguiendo la costumbre de sus antecesores, había jurado el Rey la guarda de las leyes; pero que luego había despreciado todos los juramentos, no observando honestidad en su corte, ni justicia en el reino; por lo cual, si estaba determinado, cual correspondía, á cumplir satisfactoriamente con el cargo aceptado para gloria del verdadero honor, debía restaurar el vigor de las leyes y velar por su exstricto cumplimiento; siendo así que en ellas recta y santamente se contenían los deberes de los reyes de León y Castilla, á saber: respeto á la religión; buen criterio para apreciar las nobles prendas; sagacidad para el conocimiento de personas; integridad en el gobierno; loable severidad en el castigo de los culpables; largueza para premiar á los nobles y á los valientes; y como en parte alguna de la tierra podrían hallarse leyes más santas, pero tampoco en ninguna encontrarse jamás desprecio de ellas más escandaloso, ni más general, le pedían de nuevo y le suplicaban con ahínco que eligiese personas de estado y de experiencia para su Consejo, y hombres de bien para la recaudación de los tributos: que reformase la disciplina del ejército, é hiciese la guerra á los infieles con el orden que sus antecesores la habían hecho: que apartase de sí y castigase á los moros y á otros criminales que en su compañía llevaba: que para corregidores de las ciudades y regidores de los concejos eligiese personas de notoria idoneidad para tan graves cargos: que la moneda fuese de buena ley, y ni se alterase su valor, ni se introdujese confusión en su ley, para evitar que se la tomase con recelo."

While one can but regret that such a state of affairs as is shown by this memorial should have existed, it is at least comforting to know that there were at the time men who dared to present such a document a second time to their sovereign.

The extracts given suffice to show the great importance of the work for every one who wishes to become thoroughly acquainted with one of the most vicious and yet one of the most interesting periods of Spanish history: the period immediately preceding the unification of the Spains.

⁴ Vol. I, pp. 324-325.

The work when completed will consist of five or six volumes. The translator will give us in the last volume the biography of the author, critical notes, and the historical documents that particularly bear upon the subject.

In the prefatory note the translator calls our attention to the fact that he is not giving us a complete translation, and explains that it is because the edition is meant to be popular, so to speak; the translation not being always literal nor always free, but suppressing or abbreviating all those digressions and moralizings of the author, so much in favor with historians of the times, but out of place to-day; and preserving the exact translation of the events and even the literal translation of every passage of literary merit; so that the reader will have a most faithful reproduction of the thought of the chronicler and of the succession of the events that he relates.

In spite of this explanation, it is to be regretted that some other plan was not adopted to obtain the same result. The desire of the scholar who wishes to read the whole of the author, and the desire of the translator to bring into bolder relief the bare facts that are recounted would both have been met by printing in smaller type and in their proper places all those passages that it has been deemed wise to suppress in the interest of definiteness. It should be noted, however, that these suppressions have not been made in any spirit of prudery nor with a desire for ordinary expurgation. It is a pleasure further to say that if we cannot have the whole text and must rely upon some one else to excerpt it for us, there is no one better equipped for the task than the present translator, an expert paleographer, a thorough Latinist, and a trained historian, inspired by an unfaltering desire to know the Truth.

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POLLAK'S FRANZ GRILLPARZER AND THE AUSTRIAN DRAMA.

Franz Grillparzer and the Austrian Drama by GUSTAV POLLAK. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1907. xxi + 440 pages.

Tho Grillparzer has been accessible to high-school and college students for some years in school editions of individual plays, and altho he has been known and admired from the days of Gillies, Lockhart and Byron who welcomed his earlier works warmly, there has been, up to the present, no single English book devoted to the dramatist's whole activity. To introduce Grillparzer to the great English and American reading public is the aim of Mr. Pollak in the present work. In the main, Mr. Pollak has succeeded in giving a clear, readable account of the great Austrian dramatist. Especially welcome are the excellent translations from the plays themselves. These translations, practically the first since Gillies rendered a part of the *Ahnfrau* a few years after its appearance, are done with fidelity and skill and give the general reader, unacquainted with German, a vivid idea of Grillparzer's style and method. They are, perhaps, more successful in the lyric than in the distinctly dramatic passages. The latter are at times stiff and stilted.

But while the book is satisfactory for the general reader, since it is written with intelligence and a real love of the subject, it is disappointing to the student of Grillparzer who misses much that he feels ought to be presented for an adequate survey. After two introductory chapters on Raimund and Anzengruber, the author proceeds to outline as far as possible from Grillparzer's own statements the history of each play and to summarize its action with very free quotation in translation. Beyond this there is nothing but an excellently selected collection of other men's opinions. The book is strikingly lacking in vitality and originality. From the scientific standpoint it can be criticized for lack of a central idea and for too little use of the source material. Such material

as is used is treated with too little critical acumen. It is disappointing that the first American book on Grillparzer should not be a contribution to scholarship or at least should not bring some new points of view to the subject.

The individual chapters vary much in merit. Perhaps that on Ottokar is the fullest and gives, because of the very extensive extracts, the most satisfaction. The chapter on *Der Traum ein Leben* is decidedly the weakest and does not do the play even scant justice. The chapters on Grillparzer's life are pleasantly written and recall all the pathos of the lonely old man fighting against persecution by ignorant censors and bureaucrats, and yet proud and conscious of his own superiority. The chapter on Beethoven will interest the general reader tho its inclusion somewhat disturbs the proportions of the book. The two introductory chapters are also somewhat unfortunate. They lessen the emphasis on the main subject without being in any way a fulfillment of the promise conveyed by the second part of the title. Much more should have been made of Bauernfeld; F. Halm and Collin should have been discussed and Nestroy not have been dismissed with a few indifferent and contemptuous words. In the present day the American public could learn from Nestroy that in a musical comedy, plot, wit and biting, if cynical, satire are not necessarily wanting, and that this type of play can be made the vehicle for real thoughts without the entire prostitution of the intellect of the spectator.

To turn to some of the individual chapters: that on the *Ahnfrau* is sketchy and the treatment of the fate idea is inadequate. The whole basis of the vogue of the so-called fate-tragedy in the times, in the career of Napoleon, cannot be too strongly emphasized. The mention of Zacharias Werner in a book intended to be popular is a mistake unless his really great significance as a pioneer is brought out. A closer examination of the sources would show that the statements in Grillparzer's autobiography need modification when he discusses the origin of the play. Nor is enough made of

the wonderful plot of the drama. The stages of the anagnorisis with its three successive parts, each rising in horror, are well worth a discussion, for they are among the most striking in dramatic literature. Mr. Pollak makes nothing of the element of passion, of the blood taint, the unrestrained play of the emotions, of the mystery of the supernatural element and, finally, of the deep significance of Grillparzer's use of Fate which is ethically so superior to the idea then current.

That the trilogy *Das goldene Vlies* is a drama of the will has escaped Mr. Pollak. This play shows a struggle between the individual will of Medea and the universal will as represented by Greek civilization. To Medea the injustice and cruelty of life are overwhelming, but she stands as the representative of a race, of a culture, which must be swept away to make room for a greater and clearer civilization. The gradual growth of this will and its final dominance of Medea's life with the consequent wreck of her all, are Grillparzer's contribution to the legend. Medea is both tragic and pathetic.

Hardly a better play could have been selected than *König Ottokars Glück und Ende* to show in detail Grillparzer's dramatic method, and Mr. Pollak has given copious extracts from the most interesting scenes. But he has not focused his points and so the reader is left without a clear idea of the wonderful contrasts and the startling dramatic brilliance of the whole. So for instance, the connection between the three scenes which are decisive in Ottokar's life should be shown. These three, which mark the gradual climax of the tragedy, are the announcement of the election of Rudolf of Hapsburg, with all the dramatic irony of Ottokar's previous arrogance, then the falling of the tent at the malicious blow of Zawisch and, finally, Ottokar's mad plunge into the chapel where his ex-queen, Margaret, lies dead. The intimate connection of Ottokar's wrong to Margaret and his fall are not brought out with sufficient clearness. Mr. Pollak mentions the *Reim-chronik* of Ottokar von Horneck, but does not make enough of Grillparzer's ex-

haustiv historical studies in preparation for the play. Klaar's splendid analysis proves the prime importance of an examination of these sources for the just appreciation of Grillparzer's accuracy and of his power to ennoble as well as to vitalize a dry narrativ. Unless some of these points are made vivid before the average reader's eyes, the play will seem, from Mr. Pollak's discussion, but a curious bit of obscure history and not a live tragedy.

In *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* the conflict between the artificial cloister world and the world of real life, of elemental passions, is not toucht. Then, the slow movement of the fourth act, which has been deemed a fault of construction, should be explained and Grillparzer found to have been justified in thinking this very fourth act one of his best creations. The explanation of the apparent drag of the act is that the whole is intended to show the natural effect of a night of watching upon Hero. If the movement were quicker, the weariness of Hero, the leaden weight of sleep upon her, would not seem so real and her final slumber and the intervention of the priest would not be so well motivated. In this play, too, it should be pointed out that the priest acts from motives of conscience in his destruction of the lovers. He was narrow but lived up to his duty. This conception of the character is a striking evidence of Grillparzer's broad-mindedness, which allowed even to the ultra-conservativ, if honest, the right of opinion and action.

Mr. Pollak is uncertain as to the place of *Der Traum ein Leben* among the dramatist's works. This play is one of the most individual of Grillparzer's plays and its connection with *Medea* has long been clear. Its renunciation of the striving of the world, its inherent pessimism, recall the oft-quoted lines from the end of *Medea*:

"Was ist der Erde Glück—ein Schatten!
Was ist der Erde Ruhm—ein Traum!"

The great art of the play in interweaving the real world with the world of dreams is unnoticed by Mr. Pollak. The character study of

Rustan also deserves more detailed discussion than is given it. The hero of this fairy play with its operatic atmosphere and its sensuous Oriental setting is another Jason, another Ottokar. His words outfly his deeds and his ideals his power of action and his moral force. He is a foreshadowing of the splendid delineation of the Hapsburgs which Grillparzer gives in the drama *Ein Bruderzwist in Hapsburg*.

A discussion of Grillparzer should show far more cogently than Mr. Pollak has done, some of the more constantly recurring of the dramatist's traits. So for example, the persistence of the strong woman contrasted with the weak man. So Sappho, so Medea, so King Alfonso and his strong, cold English wife. Then, the frequency of love, violent and consuming, at first sight, as in the case of Medea and Hero. The keen psychological analyses of race and other types of love, as in Berta and in Zawisch, might be dwelt on with interest. Grillparzer was a master in the skillful portrayal of animal passion in the human sex emotions and so one finds such characters as Rahel, Berta, Otto von Meran and Don Cesar. A chapter might well be devoted to showing how carefully Grillparzer motivated his plots (*Ahnfrau*, *Hero*, *Ottokar*, *Bruderzwist in Hapsburg*) and how minutely he worked out his characters (Jüdin von Toledo, Primislaus, Erny and Bankbanus, Hero, Leon). In these last two points he is unequalled in German literature. He may not have the spontaneous vitality of Goethe, with the consequent touch on every pulse of life, but he has an ability to motivate minutely the intricacies of human passion and to show the intimate workings of the human mind. If he cannot draw the universal meaning from a historical event as does Schiller, he can make history live and historical characters real.

Grillparzer, like Goethe and Schiller, was primarily an artist. He stood aloof from the petty squabbles of the day and echoed but little of the *Zeitgeist* in his dramas. These works are not hostages to the growing realism of the century but are independent, individual works of art, each with its own personality

and each illustrating some great artistic principle. But they are all imbued with glowing human interest; they are never cold and never doctrinaire. Tho Grillparzer, the man, was an Austrian patriot and deeply rooted in his native soil, Grillparzer, the dramatist, with his classic perfection of form, his force and his variety of interest must ever be classt among the first of the universal authors. He followed no models, belonged to no school, was always peculiarly himself and as time goes on and his work becomes known, he must receive the recognition which is his due. It is to be hopt that Mr. Pollak's book, tho lacking in many respects, will serve as an introduction to the great dramatist for the English-speaking public.

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MEDIEVAL LATIN FABLES.

Der illustrierte Lateinische Aesop in der Handschrift des Ademar, Codex Vossianus. Lat. Oct. 15. Fol. 195-205. Einleitung und Beschreibung, von DR. GEORG THIELE, Privatdocenten a. d. Universität Marburg. In Phototypischer Reproduction, mit 5 Abbildungen im Text. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1905. 4to., vi and 68 pp., with 22 plates.

The book here reviewed is one that is epoch making in the history of fable literature, and since the time of Hervieux there has been nothing so important. Unfortunately there are but few copies of it to be found in this country, one of them being in the Library of Congress at Washington. In a letter to Dr. G. C. Keidel of the Johns Hopkins University, written in December, 1906, Dr. Thiele announced that he intended to publish a critical edition of the *Æsopus Latinus* in the summer of 1907, but there has been as yet no notice of its having actually appeared in print. We may, however, look forward to it with great expectations, for together with his present con-

tribution to the subject it will doubtless revolutionize our views of the oldest Romulus collection. In the present volume, Dr. Thiele is concerned chiefly with the Ademar collection of fables.

The energy of the author in the writing of this monograph is truly remarkable, as he draws upon a wide range of evidence from archaeological, linguistic, and architectural sources, besides other fields. His argument in brief is as follows:

The investigations hitherto made and starting with Phædrus and Romulus have never sufficiently determined Ademar's relation to them both. The text of the latter's work was published by Joh. Friedr. Nilant in 1709, whose uncle had discovered the manuscript containing it in the library of the University of Leiden. This Ademar collection of fables is accordingly called the Anonymus Nilantinus and it was most severely ridiculed by Lessing, because a poor Romulus text accompanied the edition and prejudiced him against it. Since the year 1709 no one had collated the Ademar manuscript, not even Hervieux. Thus the discovery had never been made that the edition of Nilant was incomplete, omitting both the arithmetical riddles and the illustrations. Dr. Thiele undertakes to give the correct text, to reproduce the illustrations that accompany it, and to prove that, in the main Ademar is Romulus, and in part Phædrus prosed.

Ademar's collection is very important in the history of fable literature, as it is the sole source for twelve of the Phædrus fables and for seven of the Romulus fables. It is, therefore, indispensable for a reconstruction of the Romulus *Æsop*. The illustrations deserve great attention, since we can point to an older, probably Greek *Æsop*, as the source of the Romulus collection and then demonstrate that the old *Æsop* illustrations as well have been transmitted to us.

Dr. Thiele traces the history of the difficulties found in placing Ademar in the fable scheme. Hervieux made no methodical attempt to determine his position, and is scored severely. The best work has been done by Zander, who, however, starts out from wrong premises, in that he excludes from consideration all fables that do not come from Phædrus, but deduces all that do agree, even if only in part, from Phædrus paraphrases. Dr. Thiele objects very strongly to the

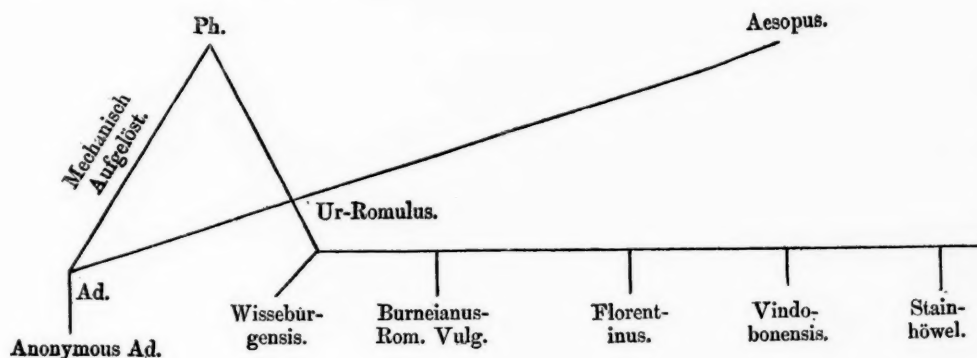
idea that there were any such paraphrases. He says we have here more than paraphrases. They were reworkings of Phædrus and other fable collections, and were not for school use, but for general distribution.

The book next takes up a regular study of the fables themselves, leaving aside the *Wisseburgensis* for a time. The author finds that at least twenty-eight of the fables come from Phædrus, but they do not come from an independent and complete Phædrus paraphrase. They are merely interpolated into the Romulus text from a Phædrus text, not metrically divided and which never led a separate and independent existence. By an example he shows that the differences between Ademar and Phædrus in these fables may be attributed either to omission, corrupt readings, or a misunderstanding of the meaning. There may have been an increasing successive degeneration of the Phædrus text, due to the changes it underwent in passing from poetry to prose, but there was no real paraphrase at once independent and readable.

The rest of the fables follow the Romulus text, as it is otherwise handed down to us. They either have nothing to do with Phædrus, or draw upon him merely for adornment, additional matter, corrections, or a variant. They point to no paraphrase. Take, for instance, the fable of the Accused Sheep. Zander derives this from a minor Phædrus paraphrase, which would be the original of both Romulus and Ademar. But Dr. Thiele shows that the dry Phædrus account cannot be the original of Ademar's interesting version. In fact, Phædrus, through ignorance or a bad source, got the story badly mixed up, whereas Romulus in

spite of his acquaintance with the Phædrus version saved the original variant. Our author inclines to see Greek influence in the extreme personification of the animals, which is not found in the Phædrus story. In short, the whole Romulus shows a tendency to fill out scanty Phædrus accounts from other sources. Sometimes this process goes so far that scarcely any traces of the Phædrus account remains, as in the case of the Thankful Lion. Here Dr. Thiele shows that the Romulus version gives details which can come only from an immediate knowledge of the old Roman arena. The Ur-Romulus must therefore be considered not a paraphrase, but an independent literary creation, and that the primary source of Ademar, although in twenty-eight fables he follows a pure Phædrine text. We have to deal with a compiler who knew and tried to fuse Romulus and the prose Phædrus text. This is proved: (1) by the language of Romulus; (2) by the arrangement of the Ademar collection; and (3) by an investigation of the illustrations.

Dr. Thiele can discover no law governing the choice of fables for the new Ademar between Phædrus and the Ur-Romulus, except that Phædrus enjoyed great popularity. Sometimes he finds that Phædrus was collated with the Romulus, even to a great extent. In the main, the fables directly out of the Phædrus collection are clearly defined from the Romulus mass, namely, twenty-eight out of a total of sixty-seven. Of these sixteen are still found in Phædrus as we possess it, but twelve come to us through Ademar alone. Dr. Thiele gives the following scheme of derivation:



Our author gives a chapter on variant readings, changes for corrupt passages, or changes due to ignorance, or to poetic, late, or Vulgar Latin words, all of which cause the difference in text between the sixteen fables as found in Phædrus and in Ademar. He says that the Ur-Romulus in its present form dates from the period between the fourth and sixth centuries, so we may probably assign the compilation of the Anonymus to the sixth century.

Dr. Thiele finds that the twelve Phædrine fables occurring only in Ademar, now lost from Phædrus, are so very close to the original that a partial restoration can be made of the Phædrus form, much in the same way that M. Menéndez Pidal reconstructed the *Infantes de Lara* from scanty remains of assonance. The author gives some of these reconstructed passages, made by other workers in this field, and also some indications of his own, promising more at a favorable opportunity.

Ademar in general follows the arrangement of fables in Romulus. This is made very apparent by comparative tables.

From the preceding account it may be seen how painstakingly Dr. Thiele has proceeded. There are no sweeping conclusions without first a great mass of facts based on the most minute examination and comparison.

Another important point demanding consideration is Ademar's relation to five other versions, namely, B(urneianus = Rom. Vulg.), W(isseburgensis), F(lorentinus), V(indobonensis), and S(tainhöwel). All of these used the same text as a source, in spite of the fact that of those fables which do not derive directly from Phædrus seven are found in none but Ademar. For instance, in one particular fable, F, B and V have four motifs in the moral that evidently from their nature arose at different times, as they show, so to speak, different ethical strata. Now since they all agree in these motifs, we must derive them from a strongly reworked Romulus original, and at the end they agree with Ademar. The presence of original ideas in Ademar's moral does not disturb these conclusions at all, since they are also found in the cases where the fable comes directly from Phædrus, and so must be due to the compiler. From many minor details, Dr. Thiele assumes that Ad.

and W. use a much better text than B., F., V. and S. The conciseness of Romulus Vulgaris is no proof of its old age, and our attention is called to the fact that Ademar alone interpolates in order to omit references to heathen worship.

There are at least five fables that cannot derive from Phædrus, and must come from Romulus alone, that is, from foreign sources. These facts are established, as in the case of the fable of the Crow and Crane, by linguistic and stylistic data. Phædrine origin is impossible for the fable of the Baldheaded Man and the Gardener for the reason that melons were unknown to the Latin author. In another case, the use of certain late words, such as *cavannus* for an owl is determinative. Another argument is that certain conversational dialogue is too late in origin for Phædrus.

One division of the work treats of the arithmetical riddles which follow the fables in the manuscript. These were common in Greek and distinctly popular in nature, as is seen from the titles, such as the two Merchants who sold a Pig for a Hundred Soldi. Dr. Thiele lays considerable stress on these riddles as throwing light on the origin of the fables themselves. Substantially the same ones are found in the Codex Burneianus, also in the manuscripts of Alcuin's works as published in 1777. They were not, however, composed by him, much less by Bede, in whose works they also appear. In Ademar these riddles are even spoken of as "*fabulæ*." Now all these riddle texts can be traced, it seems, to a common source, and this is said to be Roman. This fact is of great importance to the author, who is convinced that he has found just some such source for the Ur-Romulus.

The real centre of Dr. Thiele's investigations is his discussion of the illustrations. Here he announces that he has additional proof of his theories and that the illustrations are no less important than the fables themselves in studying their correlation. In fact, they form an integral part of the fable collections, and are subject to the same laws of continuity and traditional form as the literary part. They are accordingly reproduced in his book in well-executed facsimiles.

Those fables even that never existed in Phædrus are also illustrated, and therefore these illustrations must plainly have some other source than

Phædrus. Moreover, in the fables that are interpolated from Phædrus, we often have portrayed a distinctly variant version. For instance, one picture shows a weasel surprised while catching a mouse, a motif which is not mentioned in Phædrus though it is in all the others. The illustrations must come, therefore, from Romulus. They, the arithmetical riddles, and the fables must all alike stand or fall together. It is the same source that underlies Stainhöwel's illustrations, which are, however, in some respects more complete.

Inasmuch as Romulus illustrations always exist for each fable, Ademar must have used Phædrus only when the fable occurred also in Romulus. The compiler then took the pictures from Romulus and the text from Phædrus. The illustrations cannot be later than the fifth or sixth century. Dr. Thiele has submitted them to a thorough analysis. He finds various ancient traits in them, such as a pointed cap to mark out a traveller in one instance. This was the regular device in olden days. In another, the bare feet and double garment of a rich man at a meal show Roman, not Carolingian customs. Sometimes Roman detail seems to have been suppressed by the copyist. Landscape is very roughly and scantily dealt with, while much attention is paid to architecture. The melon is incorrectly drawn, but the palm and supposed olive tree are correct. The age of the drawings is shown by the decorative detail, the round-arched windows, etc.,—traits found also in the Vatican Vergil and the Utrecht Psalter, which thus makes impossible local Gallic or Carolingian-Frankish origin. In fact, Dr. Thiele is tempted to assume an Ostroroman Byzantine, or international later Roman type for such house architecture as he finds represented. For instance, he thinks he has the atrium of a late Roman house, represented by an arch on pillars, in Fable III at the bottom. The general architectural tone is antique, although Carolingian influence (which must have come in in the copies) is seen in furniture, utensils, and costumes. The shoe fastenings resemble those of early Christian pictures. Hair is worn in modern fashion. Unknown animals are poorly drawn, as the camel and the lion. As to the color of the original, he says: "We may assume that the original, which doubtless was of larger size, fully answered the demands which would be made upon a colored

fable collection about the year 400 in a city of southern France.¹

Here, therefore, we have the oldest replica of the same Romulus illustrations which in their most reworked form appear in Stainhöwel, Yzopet and Walter of England. This Ur-Romulus must have been illustrated in a heathen Roman centre. Traces of the lands of North Africa are found, while some of the riddles have an Oriental setting. But since it was composed about the year 400 in Gaul, a Greek illustrated fable-collection of Oriental origin can alone explain this. Dr. Thiele has studied and compared illustrations in Terence manuscripts in order to complete his ideas on these heads. Moreover, in the Bayeux Tapestry, deriving from Ademar, he finds scenes that must have their origin either in a mixture of Phædrus and Babrios, or in their common source. Lastly, a Roman gravestone has been discovered that seems to have a fable portrayed on it akin to the Ademar type.

In this connection it may be mentioned that a study of the fable entitled the Crow and Peacock's Feathers has been made in order to see if Dr. Thiele's theory was borne out in this instance. The plate accompanying this fable is described by Dr. Thiele as follows: "The crow is on the ground, decorated with a few, small peacock's feathers, surrounded by five tolerably well drawn peacocks. The peacock's tails are all surrounded with a heavy line. Each peacock holds in its beak a peacock's feather, torn from the crow. Two feathers are on the ground."² This, therefore, does not bear out Dr. Thiele's argument particularly well. The scene illustrated here is not at all the Greek setting, where there is a council and where numerous birds take part. It is distinctly the Phædrus type. There is also an evident attempt on the artist's part to show feathers left on the crow after the peacock's feathers have been torn off; so we may assume that, if Marie is following a Greek account when she says the crow was absolutely stripped of his own and other feathers, there is another point that needs explanation.³

¹ See p. 35.

² A free translation of the original German text is here given.

³ Karl Warnke, *Die Fabeln der Marie de France*, Halle 1898, No. lxvii.

This fable is one of the sixteen found both in Ademar and Phædrus, and so belongs to the class "mechanisch aufgelöst." It is therefore evident why Phædrus and Ademar so often differ from all the other parallel versions, five times in motifs, and nine times in diction, as has been found out by the use of comparative tables. The fact that quite often the Wisseburgensis tends to follow them might be explained by another scheme of derivation, in which this version would be more directly derived from Phædrus than some of the others. The author has forestalled this objection by saying that he considers Ademar and Wisseburgensis to have used a much better text than the rest; and then, too, he states that our texts in a number of cases are incorrect as given by Hervieux, and so rejects their readings. The most doubtful of Dr. Thiele's theses is the placing of Stainhöwel on a level with the Romulus Vulgaris. Of course, any table of motifs or diction will show a very close agreement among B., F., V. and S. In this particular fable B. and F. agree with the Latin Stainhöwel twenty-two times in motifs and sixteen in diction. Vindobonensis II⁴ follows at a little distance, but this may be accounted for by the fact that it is not a direct representative of the class. Nevertheless, until further evidence is furnished, so that we may assume with some sureness that the Latin Stainhöwel, a comparatively late version, really drew upon the Ur-Romulus, we must keep to the older and quite tenable theory that Romulus Vulgaris is its source, an idea quite in keeping with the prolific tendencies of this popular version.

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SHAKESPEARE.

The Genesis of Hamlet, by CHARLTON M. LEWIS.
New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1907.

The title of this book arouses misgivings, and these are fully substantiated by a perusal of its contents. The argument is based upon more or less

probable hypotheses, which are treated throughout as established facts, a procedure far too common nowadays in the building up of critical air-castles. Kyd is the undoubted author of the pre-Shakesperean *Hamlet*, the second Quarto is surely Shakespeare's revision of the piece represented by the first, and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is "beyond question" a rendering of Kyd's play. There are also not a few other assertions concerning which, as the author says, "conjecture may be confident." Indeed, if we may judge from the tone of many statements, Professor Lewis not only has the gift of seeing in the dark, but he seems to have enjoyed the precious privilege of entering into Shakespeare's artistic soul and watching it at its creative labors.

According to his view, all the modern difficulties in the interpretation of Hamlet's character spring from its being a "Belleforest-Kyd-Shakespeare compound." If we ask why the great dramatist took up and remodelled the old play, the answer is clear: "It was the irrational behavior of Kyd's hero that piqued Shakespeare's curiosity and drove him to depart as far from Kyd as Kyd had departed from Belleforest." What, then, in our present play is Kyd's and what is Shakespeare's? "Kyd is responsible for most of the plot, and Shakespeare for most of the characterization; Kyd for the hero's actual environment, Shakespeare for the imperfect description of his environment that has come down to us." These statements from the concluding chapter fairly represent the author's certainty about uncertain matters. Surely a correct understanding of Shakespeare is not to be obtained by such methods.

There are, it is true, arguments in support of all these propositions, but they in no wise justify unqualified conclusions of any sort. Moreover, to one who has in mind Professor Thorndike's study of the Revenge Plays, most of the author's remarks about such points as Hamlet's madness, his delay, his self-reproaches, appear to be based upon insufficient grounds. In general, it must be confessed, the present book gives the impression that the task has been taken in hand rather lightly. To oblige a man who attempts a new publication on *Hamlet* to read all that has been written on the subject is perhaps too severe a

⁴ Wien, Hofbibliothek, lat. 901.

penalty to impose, but the preparation certainly ought to be extensive. On such a matter, however, one hesitates to pass judgment. The suspicion that the preparation has scarcely been adequate may easily do the author an injustice. But, however that may be, no charitable consideration can interfere with the necessity of uttering a protest against turning theories into facts, and building upon them as though they were a solid foundation. During the past few years there has been an enormous crop of literary studies in which this fault has been but too manifest. Such works may be entertaining, they may even be stimulating, but it ought to be clearly understood and universally recognized that they have no critical value. Let us have facts that are undisputed, let us add to those inferences that may be fairly drawn from sufficient evidence; and let us confess that, as to the rest, we do not know. Theorize whosoever will: but let his fancies be properly labeled, so that a new generation will not be obliged to tear down a multitude of flimsy structures and spend half its time, energy, and learning in marshaling evidence to disprove what has never been proved.

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PORTUGUESE LITERATURE.

THEOPHILO BRAGA: *Romanceiro geral portuguez*. Segunda edição ampliada. Lisboa: M. Gomes, 1906-7. 12mo., 2 vols., viii + 639 and 588 pp., 1000 and 800 reis.

These two handsomely printed volumes contain popular traditional romances, and a third volume of the same *Romanceiro* is announced as *Romances com forma litteraria, do seculo xvi a xviii*. This last will therefore be in the nature of a reprint of Braga's *Floresta de varios romances* (1869), and cannot offer the interest of the popular ballads. The *Romanceiro* in turn is only one part of ten projected in a large scheme on which the veteran Portuguese scholar and publicist is at work, namely, the *Bibliotheca das Tradições portuguezas, edição integral e definitiva*. The *Historia da*

Poesia popular portugueza (3rd ed.) has already appeared in two volumes (1902-5); the other parts so far announced include a *Cancioneiro popular*, a *Theatro popular*, an *Adagiario portuguez*, and *Cantos tradicionais*.

Almeida-Garrett in 1851 made a beginning of collections of Portuguese popular ballads with the second and third volumes of his *Romanceiro*. The lack of scientific method in the book was compensated by the enthusiasm of the collector. Then followed the first edition of Braga's *Romanceiro geral* (1867), including poems published by Garrett and many more, all collected on the mainland. Another important volume edited by Braga (1869) was the *Cantos pop. do Archipelago Açoriano*, with its eighty-two ballads of all kinds, many of them the purest versions to be found in Portuguese. From the mainland again came Estacio da Veiga's small *Romanceiro do Algarve* (1870), covering territory hitherto untouched. Rodrigues de Azevedo made an important contribution with his *Romanceiro do Archipelago da Madeira* (Funchal, 1880). The Madeira versions are generally prolix and more or less modernized in form, but they often contain interesting variants. The Portuguese-speaking region of South America is represented by Dr. Sylvio Romero's *Cantos populares do Brazil* (Lisboa, 1883), but the romances among them are few and garbled. All of the collections mentioned are accompanied by notes, with the exception of the *Rom. da Madeira*.

The first editions of these books are long since exhausted, and only those of Garrett and Romero have to my knowledge been reprinted. It was, therefore, highly desirable to bring together all the material in the fundamental collections, with the addition of the considerable matter scattered more recently in periodicals and pamphlets; and such is the object of the present work, as we are told in a short preface replete with characteristic Braguensian generalizations. It is a pity that so important a labor was not performed more carefully than proves to be the case.

Pages vii-viii are occupied by a list of sources, twenty-one in number, arranged with no discernible system. The catalog is not complete, and as we cannot impute the deficiency to the editor's ignorance, we must lay it to simple care-

lessness. Thus most of the Galician romances in the book are taken from Pérez Ballester's *Cancionero pop. gallego*, which is cited; but the *Penitencia do Rei Dom Rodrigo* (II, 311) is to be found in Juan Menéndez Pidal's *Leyenda del Ultimo Rey godo* (1906, p. 176), which is nowhere mentioned. Neither does J. M. da Costa e Silva's *Isabel ou a Heroína de Aragão* (1832) appear, yet from it is taken the Gôa version of *Donzella que vae á guerra* (I, 144) and presumably two other Indian ballads (I, 548 and 550). Other texts which are utilized and should be added to the references are Diogo do Couto's *Decadas* (cf. Braga, *Hist. da Poesia pop. port.*, 3rd ed., II, 415) and Braga's own *Ampliações ao Romanceiro das Ilhas dos Açores*, in the *Revista Lusitana*, I, 99 ff. An unfortunate omission from both text and bibliography is that of the important *Versão portuguesa de Jean Renaud*, published by Leite de Vasconcellos in *Romania*, XI, 585-6. A collection of Portuguese ballads cannot be called complete without it.

The text itself is in large type, with ample margins, and without notes or comment of any kind. An exception is the reproduction of some of Garrett's original notes with the poems taken from him, but he is not credited with either. This is a serious defect in the book: that the source of each poem is not indicated, so that one must hunt in an indefinite number of places in order to get at the original comment. The work of compilation seems to have been done very mechanically; the most obvious misprints of the first editions are reproduced without any attempt at correction, and new errors are not wanting.

In the matter of classification of romances there has never been any uniformity. Durán, who dealt with all sorts of literary poems as well as popular ones, was compelled to multiply his classes; Wolf, who intended to include only popular products in the *Primavera*, used for the romances the broad divisions of *históricos*, *novelescos* y *caballerescos sueltos*, and *caballerescos del ciclo carlovingio*. Menéndez Pelayo in the *Tratado de los romances viejos* followed a like plan, only including in the last division the ballads of the Breton cycle and those based on Spanish books of chivalry as well as the Carolingians. Braga, after experimenting with various classifications in his previous collections, has now adopted one which is at least ori-

ginal, as follows: I. *Romances heroicos e novellescos* (1. *Cyelo Odyssaico ou atlantico*; 2. *Cyelo Scandinavo-germanico*; 3. *Cyelo Carolingio*; 4. *Cyelo Arthuriano*). II. *Romances de Aventuras* (1. *Cyelo da Mulher perseguida*; 2. *Cyelo da Esposa infiel*; 3. *Cyelo de Peregrinos e Cativos*; 4. *Cyelo de Xácaras e Coplas de burlas*). III. *Romances historicos e lendarios* (1. *Cyelo Neo-Godo e Mosarabe*; 2. *Cyelo portuguez tradicional e semi-litterario*). IV. *Romances sacros e devotos* (1. *Cyelo evangelico popular*; 2. *Cyelo Marial*; 3. *Cyelo santoral*).

Much might be said about this division, and the mere reading of the titles will suggest queries to anyone. In what does a *Romance novellesco* differ from a *Romance de Aventuras*? Why should the *Conde Alarcos* series fall in class II rather than I? A closer investigation of the division of subjects brings on a shower of doubts, but a few examples must suffice. Why is the *Conde Claros* series (I, 306-408) put with the Arthurian cycle? And indeed the majority of themes included in this division would have hard work to prove their right there. There is a bare possibility that the *Donzella que vae á guerra* series (I, 95-148) may belong in the Scandinavian cycle, but *Tristes novas* (I, 94) assuredly does not. On the other hand, one might expect to see the ballads of the *Conde d'Allemanha* (II, 1-29) considered Carolingian, as was done by Wolf (*Primavera*, no. 170). What do we find under the altisonant heading "Odyssaic or Atlantic cycle?" One theme from Portuguese maritime history, another from universal folk-lore, and two which to an uncurbed imagination might suggest passages of the Odyssey, but certainly have no connection with it or with the Atlantic Ocean.

Even if we accept Braga's ideas at their face value, the arrangement has many flaws which are the result of pure carelessness. Two poems are repeated word for word: *O que diz o rouxinol* (I, 316) is the same as *O Laranjal* (II, 282), the latter occupying the correct place; and *As duas donzellas* (I, 594) has a double in *Morenita* (II, 281), which should be omitted.¹ There are

¹ A like slip appears in Menéndez Pelayo's *Romances tradicionales*, where the *Canción de una gentil dama y un rústico pastor* is repeated (*Antología*, x, 179, n. 1 and 193).

numerous instances of misplaced poems. *As tres irmãs* (I, 166) belongs with *Flor do dia* (II, 226, cf. also I, 29); *Conde Claro* (I, 405) should be transferred to p. 350 of the same volume. The three poems, I, 414-419, belong with the series of *Dom Carlos d'Alem-mar* (I, 356-408), as does also *Dona Ausenda* (II, 222). The fragment entitled *Bandeira de guerra* (II, 287) should be included in the series called here *Bella Infanta* (I, 33-69). In some cases two or more themes which might better have been kept separate are grouped under the same head (cf. *Dom Carlos d'Alem-mar*, *Dona Anna*, etc.); but it would be wearisome to particularize further.

Each volume is provided with an index of titles. I note only two omissions, *As duas donzelas* (I, 594), and *O Fradinho pedinte* (II, 534). An index of first lines does not appear so necessary in this case as it is for Spanish *romances*, where the title is usually secondary. In passing it may be remarked that the absence of any sort of index from Menéndez Pelayo's collection of *romances* (*Antología*, vols. VIII-X) is a serious blemish to the work, and the less excusable since Durán long ago set a well-nigh perfect example of indexing.

It would lead too far to go into a comparison of Portuguese and Castilian traditional ballads, though the question is most interesting. Why are the former so much more numerous? Here are five hundred and sixty-six different poems and variants, nearly all collected from oral repetition within the last eighty years, against two hundred and two in the *Romances tradicionales* of Menéndez Pelayo (*Antología*, x), of which eighty are mongrel versions from Catalonia and Turkey. Perhaps fifty other Castilian traditional *romances* have been published, including fourteen more from Turkey (*Rev. hisp.*, x, 594 ff.). One would be at first inclined to account for the disparity by the greater industry of the Portuguese investigators, for Spanish territory outside the mainland has scarcely been touched by ballad-hunters; South America very little, and Cuba, Porto Rico and the Canaries not at all. It is likewise true that the south-eastern part of Spain proper still awaits exploration by the folk-lorist. But even taking these facts into consideration, it seems likely that the Portuguese people have preserved

its taste for the short epic more than the Castilian, which latterly has become devoted to the lyric. Leaving out the Azores, Madeira, Brazil, India and Galicia, we still have two hundred and eighty-two ballads from continental Portugal, compared with some one hundred and fifty of equally pure Castilian lineage, gleaned from a larger area. And yet the great majority of subjects reached Portugal through Castile; very few are native. Looking back to the great Spanish collections of the sixteenth century, it would seem that the epic spirit has been dying out in Castile in proportion as it has risen in the eastern and western borders of the Peninsula.

To sum up, the second edition of Braga's *Romanceiro geral* is a compilation which will be indispensable to folk-lorists. It will not replace the previous collections, because it has none of their notes and introductions, but it will prove a boon to the many who cannot possess them. There is probably little more to be expected in the way of new finds which ought to go into a collection of Portuguese *romances*, but this work is below the standard which we might expect from its experienced and learned editor, and far too faulty for a true "edição integral e definitiva."

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FRENCH RENAISSANCE.

Maurice Scève et la Renaissance lyonnaise . . .
par ALBERT BAUR. Paris: H. Champion,
1906.

While this scholarly work adds but little to our knowledge of Maurice Scève and his *milieu*, yet it presents in a very succinct form what has hitherto been scattered through different publications. And the picture of the Lyons of the Renaissance, including the numerous literary portraits, is sufficient in itself to render this study valuable, even though it repeats to some extent what has already been presented in the masterly thesis of M. Buisson on *Castellion* and the justly celebrated life of *Dolet* by Mr. Christie.

Of the youth of Maurice Scève little is known, although his father played a very prominent rôle in the legal circles of Lyons. It is nevertheless very probable that the rich, though poorly classified, archives of that city contain much undiscovered information concerning this family. But to undertake a thorough search through the vast array of documents would require far more time than one would care to spend. And still it is only in this way that any light can be thrown on that mysterious personage, A. Scève, who has a poem in the *Livre de plusieurs pièces*,¹ and whom M. Baur has entirely omitted.

But if the author has been unable to unearth much of interest concerning Scève's early life, he has made up for this by giving us a very careful study of the poet's first literary attempts, which at once placed him at the head of the *École lyonnaise*. The influence of Scève's literary friendships, to which he was more or less susceptible, is well brought out in several of the succeeding chapters. However, one can hardly accept the characterisation of one of these personages—Louise Labé—as a mere “*courtisane*.” M. Baur bases this conclusion on the statements of the poet, Olivier de Magny, and the historian, Claude de Rubys. M. Montaury,² on the contrary, has clearly shown “*qu'il n'y avait que du dépit*” in their accusations, inasmuch as they were both rejected suitors of the *Belle Cordière*. The very fact that de Rubys selects the chapter devoted to the praise of the virtues of the poetess as evidence of the unreliability of Paradin's *Histoire de Lyon* is sufficient to cast on him the suspicion of a desire for vengeance. Furthermore, de Rubys was an implacable enemy of all who sympathized with the Renaissance.³ It is not surprising, therefore, that he should nourish some ill-feeling for Louise Labé, who was the favorite of the poets and scholars of the new school. And M. Baur is incorrect in stating, as additional evidence of the “*mauvaise conduite*” of the *Belle Cordière*, that she forms the subject of Gabriel de Minut's work

on *la Beauté*.⁴ The lady therein described is Paule de Viguier, a Toulousan, who was the Abbess of a convent. As a matter of fact, it is very doubtful if Minut ever was in Lyons. After the death of his father, Jacques de Minut, president of the Parliament of Toulouse,⁵ Gabriel went to Ferrara, where he received the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1544.⁶ Afterward, he returned to Toulouse, where he remained until his reception in the Parliament which occurred after 1550. It is, therefore, probable that to him, the *Belle Cordière*—if known at all—was a mere name.

M. Baur is doubtless correct in his assumption that Scève was in no way responsible for the *Quintil Horatian* which Barthélemy Aneau wrote in reply to the *Deffense et Illustration* of Du Bellay. However, it is impossible to accept his statement that if the *Quintil* is a protest against the *Deffense*, “*il l'est aussi contre Maurice Scève*.” The frequency with which the names of Aneau and Scève were coupled by the poets of the time suffices to show their intimacy.⁷

⁴ The full title of this volume, which has rarely been given, is as follows: *De / la Beauté, / Discours divers, / pris sur deux fort belles façons de parler, desquelles / l'hébreu et le grec usent, l'hébreu Tob / et grec καλόν κ' αγαθόν, voulant signifier que ce qui / est naturellement beau est aussi naturellement bon ; / Avec la Paule-Graphie / ou description des beautez d'une dame tholosaine nommée / la Belle Paule ; / Par Gabriel de Minut, / Chevalier, baron de Castera, senechal de Rouergue. / A Lyon / Par Barthelemy Honorat, / 1587 / Small in-8° of 268 pp. This exceedingly rare work (which is in the *Bibl. Nat. Réserve*, R 2,550) was reprinted at Brussels in 1865. The reprint, however, is now almost as rare as the original edition. Cf. also Picot, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Rothschild*, II, p. 337, and Baudrier, *Bibl. lyon.*, IV, p. 157.*

⁵ Cf. Visagier's funeral oration on him in the *Epigrammatum Libri* IV, Lyon, 1537, in 8°. Also *Lettres de Jean de Boyssonné*, published by M. Buche in the *Revue des Langues Romanes*, 1895-97. A curious epigram, addressed to Gabriel de Minut, is found in *Stephani Forcatuli* (Étienne Forcatel) *Iureconsulti Epigrammata*, Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1554, in 8°, p. 181. For further information on Gabriel, see Baudrier, *op. cit.*, II, p. 185, and IV, pp. 111 and 158.

⁶ Picot, *Les Français à l'Université de Ferrare*, 1902, p. 29.

⁷ Cf. the huitain of Charles Fontaine addressed to *ses deux amys, monsieur Maurice Scève et maistre Bartolomey Aneau*, in the *Fontaine d'Amour*, Paris, 1546, fol. mvi v°, *Bibl. Nat.*, Rés. Y^e 1609. It may also be added that notwithstanding the close friendship of Aneau and Fon-

¹ *Le Livre de plusieurs pièces, c'est à dire faict et recueilly de divers Autheurs, coïme de Clement Marot et autres : ce que tu verras en la page suyvante. A Lyon, par Nicholas Bacquenois, 1548, pp. 74-79.*

² *Revue du Siècle*, 1899, pp. 77-89.

³ Cf. his *Résurrection de la Messe*. Lyon, 1563.

As a whole, this is a very meritorious work, and deserves a place among the numerous scholarly volumes that have been devoted, in recent years, to the literature of the French Renaissance. It is, therefore, with pleasure that we look forward to the study of the poetical works of Maurice Scève which M. Baur has in preparation.⁸

JOHN L. GERIG.

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he published a catena of quotations exhibiting the various uses of *to have one's reed* that have come under his observation.

The Old Norse phrase of which he quotes an (unreferenced) instance, would seem to me at first sight to be equally rare, as it is not recorded by Vigfusson. Will Mr. Flom give us quotations for that also?

C. TALBUT ONIONS.

Oxford, England.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A READING IN *Piers Plowman*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—My attention has been directed to a comment by Mr. George T. Flom, in your issue of May, on a contribution of mine to the *Modern Language Review*, relating to a reading which I discovered in a Bodleian MS. of *Piers Plowman*. I must confess myself greatly surprised at Mr. Flom's statement that the phrase, *to have one's reed*, "may be found in both Southern, Midland, and Northern M. E., and in Old Norse." Had I known that this was the case, I might have modified my note a little. But so far I have been unable to trace any instance of this phrase besides the well-known one in the received text of the passage we are discussing. (The other, quite different, locutions, which Mr. Flom's quotations exemplify, are, of course, familiar.) I suggest that Mr. Flom would be making a useful contribution to Middle-English lexicography if

taine, we find no mention of the latter poet in Aneau's works.

⁸ As of mere bibliographical interest, it may be added that there is in the *Bibl. de Chantilly* a copy of Scève's *La déplorable fin de Flamete*, 1535, Lyon, of which M. Baur knows only the one in the possession of M. Abel Lefranc. Scève has also translated some of the *Paradossi* of Ortensio Lando (Venetia, 1545, in 8°, fo. 42) which remain unedited. My friend and teacher, M. Émile Picot, called my attention several years ago to an interesting distich of Scève on the title of the *Forcianæ Questiones*, in quibus varia Italorum ingenia explicantur, multaque alia scitu non indigna, autore Philalethe Polytopiensis cive (Neapoli, excudebat Martinus de Ragusia, anno 1536, in 8°).

"LONGFELLOW AND HIS HEXAMETERS."

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In the suggestive letter in your March number on "Longfellow and His Hexameters," there is a slight error which, for the sake of those among your readers who care for accuracy in what Donne calls "those unconcerning things, matters of fact," had perhaps better be corrected. The writer asks, "What perhaps suggested to Longfellow that he was to accomplish, to some extent at least, what Clough and Southey had failed to accomplish?" It was, however, Longfellow's hexameters that set Clough on the writing of *The Bothie*. This appears from the following sentence in an interesting letter to Emerson, dated February 10th, 1849:

"Will you convey to Mr. Longfellow the fact that it was the reading of his *Evangeline* aloud to my mother and sister which, coming after a reperusal of *The Iliad*, occasioned this outbreak of hexameters?"

This letter is to be found in *The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough*, London, 1869, Vol. I, p. 135.

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON.

Shady Hill, Cambridge, Mass.
June 10, 1908.

A NOTE ON *Piers the Plowman*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In *Piers the Plowman*, Passus v, 28-29 (Skeat's edition, 1906), occurs this passage:

"Thomme stowue he taupte · to take two staués,
And fecche felice home · fro þe wyuen pyne."

Professor Skeat finds it "a difficult passage" because of the "*two staués*." He says: "I suppose the sentence to mean that *Tom Stowe*, who had neglected his wife and let her get into bad ways, or who had allowed her to be punished as a scold, had much better fetch her home than leave her exposed to public derision. Such an errand would require a strong arm, and two staves would be very useful in dispersing the crowd. I do not think it is meant that he is to beat *her*, for then *one* would have sufficed; nor would Reason give such bad advice."

Assuming Professor Skeat to have the correct line of argument, would he not have explained the passage entirely, if he had gone a step further and supposed that Felice was quite as anxious to be brought home as Tom was to bring her? For not even a scold would like the vexation and notoriety of the cucking-stool, when there was any possible means of avoiding it. In such a mood Felice, who was probably one of the laboring class and consequently possessed of some muscle, would be no contemptible ally for Tom in working out her own salvation; and the pair, each armed with a stave, would beat a much more effectual retreat through the jeering, interfering crowd than would be possible, if we assume that Tom had to conduct an obdurate wife with one hand and dispel a meddlesome crowd with the other. Indeed, he would surely know that such an undertaking would be foredoomed to failure. We can only suppose, then, that Tom, familiar with his wife's disposition, knew he could rely on her to aid in her rescue; accordingly he went armed with *two staves*. This, however, is a mere suggestion.

A. W. FISHER.

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BRIEF MENTION.

INTERNATIONAL ROMANCE DIALECT SOCIETY.

We have just received the prospectus of a *Société internationale de dialectologie romane*, whose headquarters are at Brussels and whose object is the study of the various Romance idioms, particularly the patois. The entire Romance territory is divided into twelve districts to each of which a specialist has been assigned in order to collect, revise, or edit material for publication. This material, according to its nature, will appear in one of three publications adapted to the particular kind of contribution: a *Revue*, a *Bulletin*, and a *Bibliothèque de dialectologie romane*. Besides the twelve districts comprising the territory where Romance idioms are those principally spoken, there are five divisions comprising non-Romance nations, but among which there is more or less activity in Romance subjects, according as any one particular phase presents itself for consideration. One of these five divisions is the United States. If it be recalled that out of a population of 76,303,387, 10,356,644, or 13.6% are foreigners, the reason for including this country as possibly worthy of study becomes apparent. There are certain areas whose linguistic features have already received some slight attention, Canadian-French, for instance, that of Louisiana, and the Portuguese of New Bedford. There may also be found settlements of Italians and Spaniards in our country whose ethnological and linguistic conditions may prove of much interest for this International Society. Further information will be gladly sent to those sufficiently interested in the object of the society to care to correspond with or furnish data for publication to the United States editor: J. Geddes, Jr., Boston University.